APRIL 27, 1979

M SMTH020E- 012 7909 - 1 42 -
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

SRAEL -see page 57

NATIONAL REVIEW

Kennedy's "Second Assassin":

THE $6-MILLION MYTH

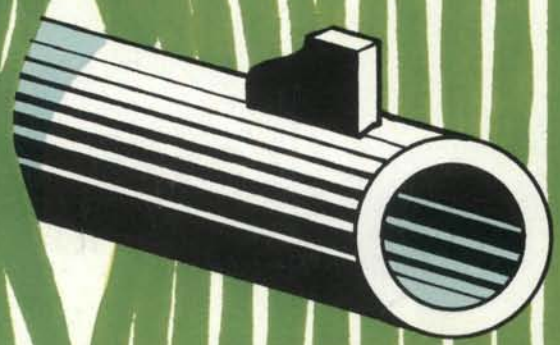
DAVID W. BELIN

Two Voices from the Gulag

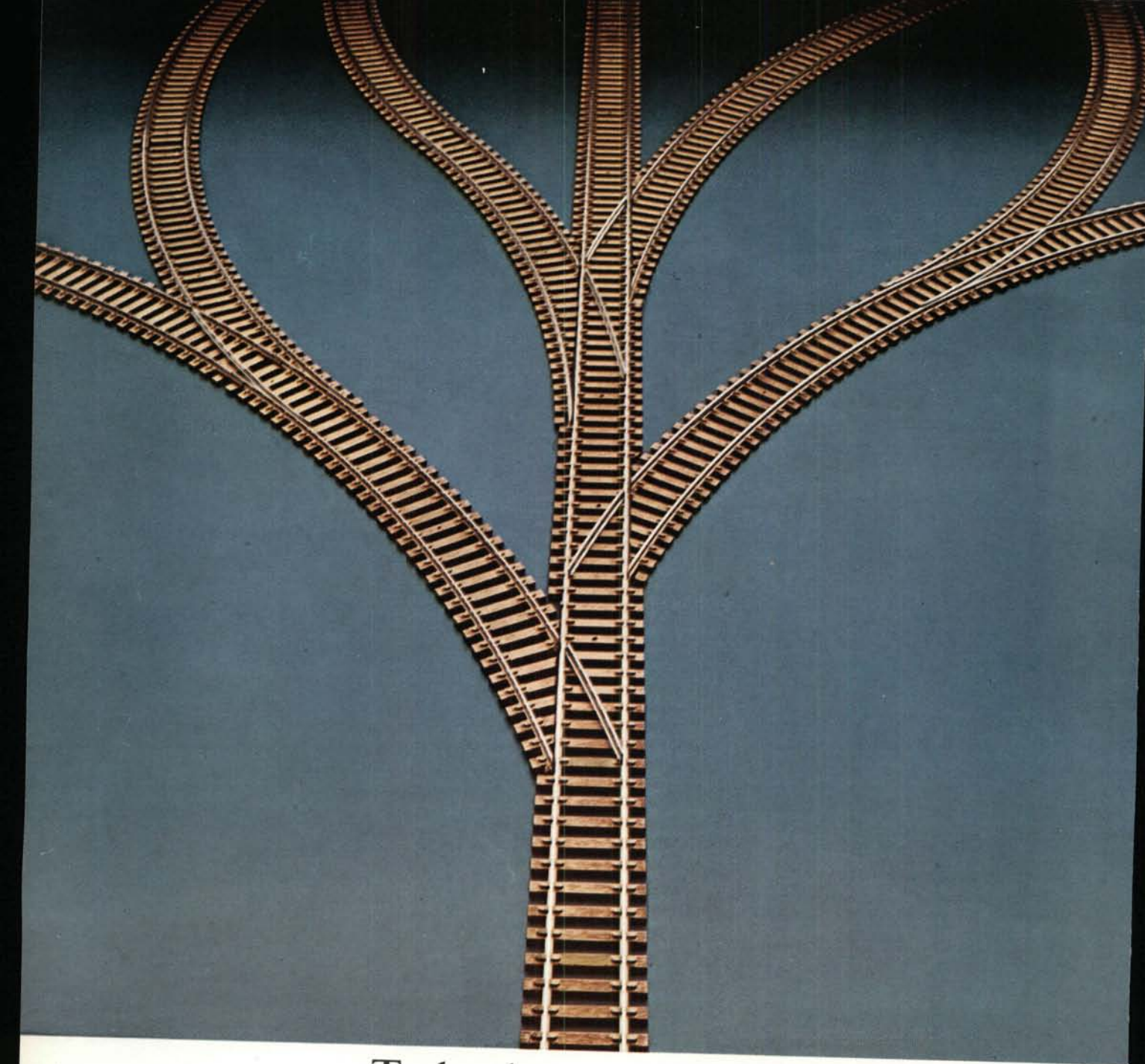
RICHARD BROOKHISER

Also in This Issue:

Brian Crozier Visits a Flashpoint ◆
M. J. Sobran Reviews Thomas Molnar ◆
David Evanier on Malamud ◆
Plus: Mano, Evans



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



To develop more energy takes more than a one-track mind.

There are numerous paths to more energy for America—and Conoco's people are exploring many of them.

Because we're active in oil, natural gas, coal and uranium, our 43,000 people have a wide variety of skills. As they work together, and sometimes cross over from one energy project to another, they develop "multi-track" minds.

For example, consider Jim Davis, one of our petroleum engineers.

First, Jim helped adapt oil production techniques to drill horizontally into coal seams before mining, to remove potentially hazardous methane gas. So more coal can be produced, more safely.

Now Jim is helping apply this same horizontal drilling system to get at petroleum deposits that were previously too difficult to tap. So more oil can be produced.

At a time when some people are trying to limit the activities of energy companies, we think it's worth noting what individuals like Jim Davis can do—if they're allowed to switch tracks and produce more energy.

conoco

Doing more with energy.

Conoco, Stamford, CT 06904 © 1979

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

university

The University Bookman is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber, living in the U.S.A., gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at $2.00 a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

bookman

The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

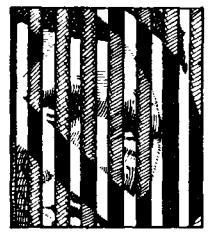
NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 27, 19
VOL. XXXI, No.
ISSN: 0028-00

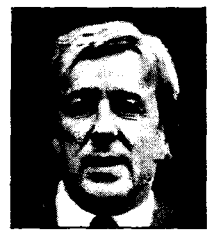
VARNADO
Page 558

BELIN
Page 534

VAN DEN HAAG
Page 559



BROOKHISER
Page 564



MARTIN
Page 562

EVANIER
Page 570

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

529 **Korean Reminders**
South Korea has a government even a liberal can love. *Brian Crozier*

532 **Snow Job**
The snows kept coming but the plows did not. So it was off with Bilandic's head. Chicago expects *its* rascals to deliver.
John R. Coyne Jr.

534 **The Second-Gunman Syndrome**
Late last year the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded that there *was too* a second gunman on the Grassy Knoll in Dallas. The conclusion is demonstrably groundless; the killer was Lee Harvey Oswald, alone. The real question is *why* the Committee reached this conclusion. Its error, its bias, and its *modus operandi* suggest disturbing things about the way we are governed. *David W. Belin*

558 **If I Were King . . .**
Wherein the author dreams of a hideous metamorphosis. *S. L. Varnado*

559 **A Tale of Three Cities**
Travel, said Chesterton, narrows the mind. The author went to the Orient with his mind already resolutely narrowed, and has returned with observations and realizations denied to more liberal souls.
Ernest van den Haag

561 **Cuts and Balances**
Everyone seems to want reduced spending, tax cuts, and balanced budgets—everyone but those who get elected by spending, taxing, and unbalancing. How to force their hand? *M. Stanton Evans*

562 **The Seeds of Disintegration**
Religious people mustn't ever seek to impose their views on others. Only secularists may do that. *Malachi B. Martin*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

564 **Everything Outside Is Red**
Two Soviet labor-camp inmates, now fortuitously free, tell their grim stories. If you think you've heard it all before, read Bukovsky and Herman. *Richard Brookhiser*

567 **Piety for the Future**
Thomas Molnar inspects *Christian Humanism*, and traces Sartre to the Renaissance.
M. J. Sobran

568 **Inside Straight**
When a memoirist writes like Peter Drucker, it's a pity he has only one life to look back on. *Farley Clinton*

570 **Fanny and Duby**
In *Dubin's Lives*, Bernard Malamud extends himself as a writer—with mixed results.
David Evanier

571 **War of the Worlds**
A harrowing novel of World War III—from the staff of NATO. (Surprise: no nukes.)
Jeffrey Hart

572 **From Charcuterie to Supermarché**
The French still eat well, even when they eat out of cans. *Nika Hazelton*

573 **Fiddler in the Basement**
Guess who's denouncing the brutality of Zionist cops! Guess again! *D. Keith Mano*

512 **Letters**
517 **For the Record**
518 **The Week**
556 **help!**
575 **Dark Horses**
578 **On the Right**
580 **Trans-O-Gram**

Cover design by James W. O'Bryan

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn.

© National Review, Inc., 1979.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: *$34.00 a year ($19.00 for the 48-page issues, and $15.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add $2.00 for Canada, $4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to buy a typewriter.

—Clip and save—

Choosing a portable typewriter isn't hard if you know what to look for. This brief guide will help you make the best choice.

Test the feel. Check the slope and height of the keyboard. Check the size and shape of the keys. Make sure the controls are uncrowded and easy to reach.

Test the feel of a Smith-Corona electric typewriter against several other brands. We welcome the comparison.

Try the touch. A responsive touch makes for better, easier typing. Look for a touch that is prompt, easy and dependable.

When you test a Smith-Corona, for instance, note how smartly the carriage returns. Press a button—zip—the carriage is back where it started.

Listen to the sound—the typewriter is trying to tell you something. If it sounds tinny, beware. This may indicate that the construction is too light.

Note the look of the type. Lines and individual letters should be straight. The impression should be crisp, clean and even. The print quality should not vary over the page.

Check the overall design. Good design is part of good value, so choose an attractive modern instrument. The Smith-Corona shown is an example of classic, good design.

Look at the carrying case. Does it have double walls for air-cushioned protection? Does it have sturdy latches, locks and hinges? The Smith-Corona case does.

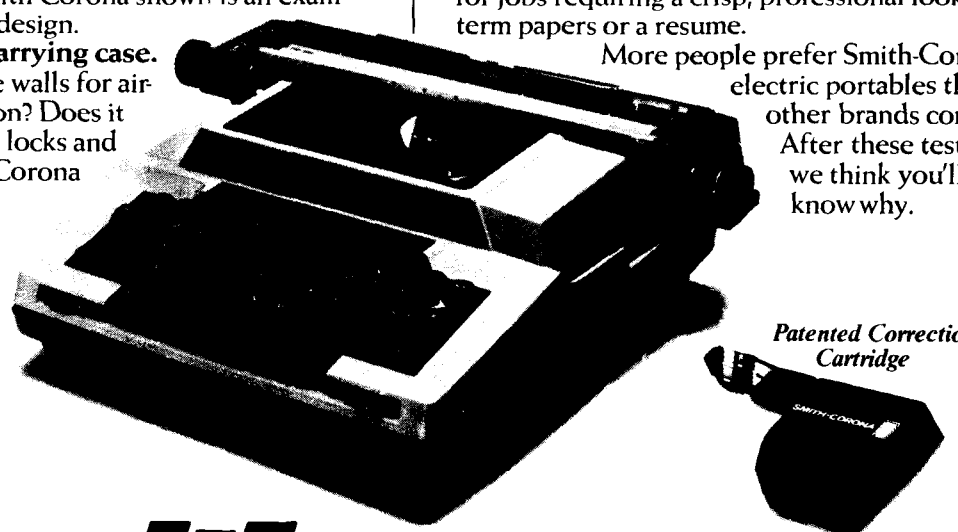
Check the price. A typewriter that sells for substantially less than others might be substantially less typewriter. If the price difference is minimal, you're probably better off paying a few extra dollars for the typewriter that tests best.

Ask who makes it. Smith-Corona makes every single typewriter that bears its name, not true of most other brands. So consider the maker's reputation. A company with a solid reputation will still be around tomorrow and in the future to give your typewriter necessary service and maintenance.

A note about ribbon systems. Smith-Corona offers a unique cartridge ribbon and cartridge correction system. It lets you change ribbons in seconds without touching the ribbon. It also lets you correct typing errors neatly, quickly and easily. Not all correction systems produce equally good results. Test and compare.

Be sure to try the Smith-Corona carbon film ribbon. We offer a re-usable nylon fabric ribbon, excellent for ordinary typing jobs. This is the only kind of ribbon most portable typewriters offer. But Smith-Corona also offers carbon film ribbon in five colors. It's the kind of ribbon the most expensive office typewriters use, and it's perfect for jobs requiring a crisp, professional look such as term papers or a resume.

More people prefer Smith-Corona electric portables than all other brands combined. After these tests, we think you'll know why.



Patented Correction Cartridge

SCM® SMITH-CORONA
SCM CORPORATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*

William A. Rusher *Publisher*

James P. McFadden *Associate Publisher*

Editors
Richard Brookhiser
James Burnham / Jeffrey Hart
M. J. Sobran Jr.

Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

Executive Editors
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts, & Manners)

Assistant Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Ruth Berenson / W. H. von Dreele
M. Stanton Evans / Neal B. Freeman
Ernest van den Haag
Norman B. Hannah / Nika Hazelton
James Jackson Kilpatrick
D. Keith Mano / Malachi B. Martin
William F. Rickenbacker
Francis Russell / John Simon

Associates
Carol Baker
Paul Gigot / Carol B. Learsy
Jane Buckley Smith
Jeanne Wacker Sobran
Timothy J. Wheeler

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Robin Wu *Research Director*
James W. O'Bryan *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
John K. Syze *Circulation Manager*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.
Classified Director
Ione Whitlock

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
John Chamberlain / Jack Chatfield
Samuel T. Cohen / Miles Copeland
John R. Coyne Jr. / Victor Gold
John Greenway / Donald Hall
Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley / Nicholas King
Suzanne La Follette / Mary Martínez
Forrest McDonald / Vincent Miller
Ferdinand Mount / George Nash
Gerhart Niemeyer / Daniel Oliver
Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Morrie Ryskind
Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr. / George F. Will
Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

*

Letters

Teddy Kennedy, Con Man

Stuart M. MacLeod and Donald Coxe's informative account of the problems with Canada's public health system ["Canadian Medicare: Rx for U.S.A.?" April 13] suggests a neat point about how government affects costs throughout the market economy. We begin with a properly functioning exchange, in this case the doctor-patient relationship. Self-interested politicians grab for votes by attacking the occasional malfunctions in the relationship, say, the high cost of medical care for catastrophic illnesses (never mind that most doctors and hospitals *voluntarily* waive these fees for the indigent). New government programs are mandated—in this case Medicare and Medicaid—which, instead of reducing costs, eliminate personal restraint and so raise costs. The money to finance the new programs is gained by deficit spending, and so general inflation pushes medical costs higher. To solve the problem caused by the government in the first place, self-interested politicians recommend more government programs.

It is all too much, and an example of how far we have come from the Founders' notion of self-government. I thank the Canadian authors for helping us understand the subtle confidence game that Teddy Kennedy is playing.

Rocky J. Squire
Idaho Falls, Idaho

Ganging Up

I really had to chuckle upon reading M. Stanton Evans' "The Gang's All There" [March 16]. Apparently, the "gang" wasn't all there, at least in the form of the *Washington Post*'s decision not to cover the sixth annual CPAC (much to the obvious chagrin of Mr. Evans).

One can't help but picture poor Mr. Evans in tears over this snub-of-snubs. One also can't help but wonder if Mr. Evans was more concerned with CPAC publicity than the issues presented and discussed at the conference. In true gossip column fashion, Mr. Evans tells us that when Reagan "is at the peak of his form . . . he has no peer." Nary a mention of substance, just form. Similarly, other nationally known figures are noted, *ad nauseam*, as having attended and participated; but Mr. Evans just can't seem to understand that what these people *say* is more important than where they happen to be geographically—or politically—located. I am thankful, at least, that Mr. Evans didn't tell us what all these people were wearing.

I came away from the article having had an old suspicion confirmed: conservatives continue to *appear* to be more concerned with self-legitimation than with candid discussions of issues. Was Mr. Evans "there"?

Warren H. Milberg
Boston, Mass.

Despite my legendary powers of adumbration, even I find it impossible to discuss everything that is said at a four-day conclave in a single page of NR. *The Political Action Conference is what the name implies, and I therefore chose to discuss the implications of the meeting for electoral politics. As for substantive discussion of the issues, I write several thousand words about such matters for* NR *each month, and I invite Mr. Milberg's attention to these humble efforts. (Reagan, as it happens, was wearing a navy blue suit, no vest.)* —MSE

Protestant Faith

I almost always enjoy and agree with Malachi Martin's column "Out of This World." However, there are times when Mr. Martin would do well to be a bit more discreet and considerate about his pronouncements concerning non-Roman Catholics ["Ecumenism, West and East," March 16]. He has an unfortunate and rather persistent habit of irritating us Anglicans by implying that we are not part of God's One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. The Anglican Communion has long stood firm on the essentials of the Catholic faith: the Holy Scripture, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the ministry of Apostolic Succession, with its historic orders of bishop, priest, and deacon. And we consider ourselves to be every bit as catholic and apostolic as our sister church in Rome. Glib asides such as "now there is more possibility of a unity of belief and worship between Indian Buddhism and the Anglican Church than between any of the Protestant churches and the three ancient churches" are not only untrue, but counterproductive to the cause of ecumenical relations, and unflattering to their author. I urge Mr. Martin to be more mature and charitable in the future.

Rev. Jack E. Altman III
Dallas, Tex.

Reunion of the ancient churches of the East and West would be welcomed by most people. However, with uninformed friends like Mr. Martin, these churches would need no enemies. The Church of Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

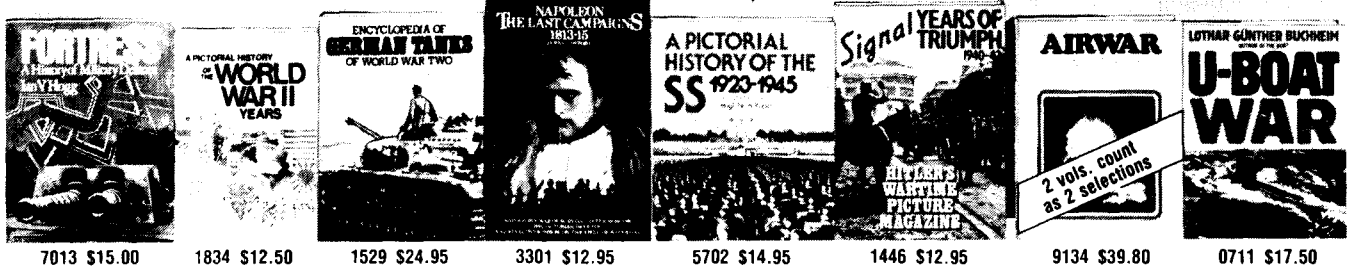
Climb aboard!

Here are the deadly aircraft...hard-fighting infantrymen...raging naval battles... yours to thrill to when you choose from this outstanding selection of military books

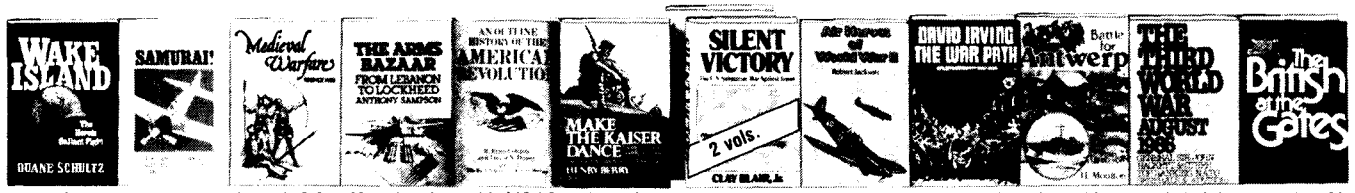
2972 $12.50 1883

COMMANDOS AND RANGERS OF WORLD WAR II
PATTON
FINAL ENTRIES 1945 THE DIARIES OF JOSEPH GOEBBELS
Richard Collier THE MIDNIGHT WAR
POINT OF NO RETURN

1602 $10.95 1453 $8.95 0687 $14.95 4077 $14.95 2949 $12.50


A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II YEARS
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GERMAN TANKS OF WORLD WAR TWO
NAPOLEON THE LAST CAMPAIGNS 1813-15
A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE SS 1923-1945
Signal YEARS OF TRIUMPH
HITLER'S WARTIME PICTURE MAGAZINE
AIRWAR
2 vols. count as 2 selections
LOTHAR GÜNTHER BUCHHEIM
U-BOAT WAR

7013 $15.00 1834 $12.50 1529 $24.95 3301 $12.95 5702 $14.95 1446 $12.95 9134 $39.80 0711 $17.50



3269 $8.95 1610 6585 $12.95 4028 $12.95 2154 $12.50 2964 $10.95 5629 $25.75 3285 $8.95 2873 $14.95 2899 $14.95 1917 $12.95 3731 $10.00

Any 4 books for only 98¢ with membership

Man the bombsight of a B-24 sent to knock out oilfields at Ploesti. Zigzag up a burning beach on D-Day, clearing the way with hand grenades and mortar fire. Keep your eyes peeled for enemy periscopes in the North Atlantic. Fight alongside tank commanders, fighter pilots, gunner's mates, and tough dogface soldiers in Africa, the Pacific, Europe, Korea, and Vietnam.

Each month, you'll enjoy big savings on books you love. You're invited to choose any four of these volumes for only 98¢, plus shipping and handling, with membership in the Club.

How the Club works

After your membership is accepted, you'll receive your four books for 98¢ plus shipping and handling. If you are not satisfied, return them within 10 days, cancel your membership, and you owe nothing.

Once you've purchased just four books during your first two years of membership you may resign at any time.

About every four weeks (14 times a year) you'll receive, free, the Club's magazine describing the coming selection and alternates, which save you up to 30% off publishers' edition prices.

If you want the selection, do nothing, it will be shipped to you automatically. If you want an alternate, or no book at all, indicate your preference on the order form and return it by the date specified. That date allows you 10 days to decide. If you receive an unwanted selection because you had less than 10 days, return it at our expense. There is a shipping and handling charge on all books shipped.

The Military Book Club offers its own complete, hardbound editions sometimes altered in size to fit special presses and save members even more.

Note: Prices shown are publishers' edition prices.

FREE! When you join. 2 Giant Full-Color World War II Strategy Maps

Military Book Club

Dept. TR-497, Garden City, NY 11530.

Please accept my application for membership in the Military Book Club and send me the four books whose numbers I have printed in the boxes below. Bill me only 98¢ plus shipping and handling. I understand that I need buy only four more books at regular low Club prices during the first two years of my membership to complete my purchase commitment. My membership will be subject to the terms and conditions presented in this ad. Also send me the two free WWII Strategy Maps, mine to keep whether or not I remain a member.

No-risk guarantee: If not delighted after examining my four selections, I may return the books within 10 days, and my membership will be canceled. I may keep the two WWII Strategy Maps, and I will owe nothing.

Note: If you select 2-volume AIRWAR set, write 9134 in 2 boxes, then choose 2 more selections.

Mr.
Mrs. _____
Miss
Address _____ Apt. No. _____

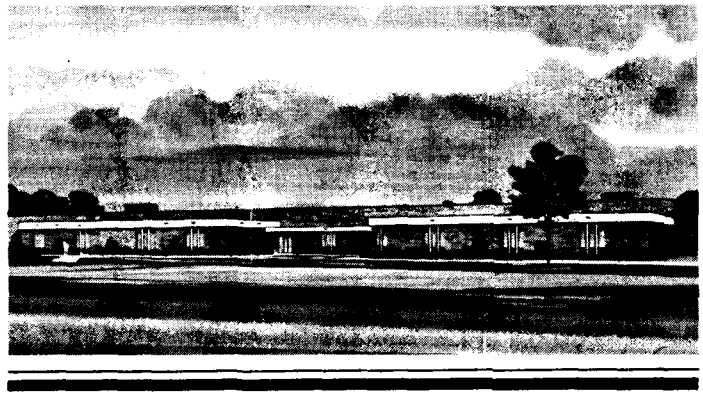
City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only. Canadian members will be serviced from Toronto. Offer slightly different in Canada. 04-M134

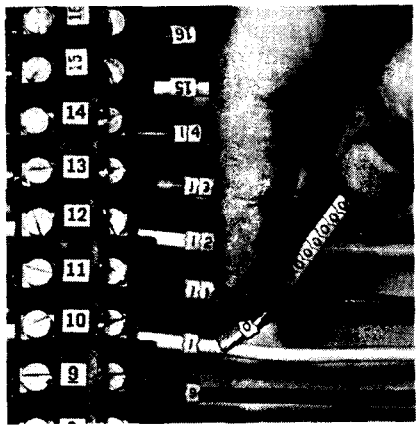
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom to grow, Brady style



Despite the erosion of our dollar overseas and a wide range of economic problems at home, we at Brady take the long view with cautious optimism. Our growing international operations now include Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Sweden and West Germany. Here at home, we have recently completed a new manufacturing plant at Merrimack, New Hampshire. Construction of our new technical center in Milwaukee (above) is under way.

These marketing, manufacturing and research activities go hand in hand with growing product lines in all of our divisions. The demands of our customers and our own research create new Brady products designed to help make information clearer, work safer, products more attractive, work more productive.



Brady clip-sleeve wire markers can be applied to wires and cables before or after termination for permanent identification of electrical circuits. Just one of many innovative Brady products for industry. Our informative new corporate brochure will tell you more about Brady and its products. Perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company. Write for a copy today.

WBC-10

BRADY

ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201

stantinople is not Greek, but the remnant of the Byzantine Church, the repository and safekeeper of Christianity for us all for centuries while Rome was subjugated by barbarians. A similar error would be to call the church based in Rome, Italian. Mr. Martin's lack of understanding of the so-called "Living Church" and the circumstances surrounding its demise is appalling, as is his reference to the old "arrogance" of the Orthodox Church. He and others interested in an accurate primer on the history of the Eastern churches should read Timothy Ware's *Orthodox Church* before approaching the subject again.

Oleg N. Dudkin
Berwyn, Pa.

Unreasonable Searches

Ernest van den Haag has built a powerful case ["Crime or Punishment?" March 2], but he chose the wrong defendant. The exclusionary rule cannot affect a significant proportion of prosecutions unless that many prosecutions require for their success the conducting of searches which are currently illegal. If we abolish the exclusionary rule, while continuing to treat such searches as illegal and while using some other means to discourage them, we cannot improve the rate of conviction or of punishment very much.

Rather than debate the merits of the exclusionary rule, we should re-examine precisely which searches are unreasonable and therefore ought to be illegal or unconstitutional. A policeman who batters down my door at midnight to seek evidence that I have been up to no good is plainly conducting an unreasonable search. But is a policeman who looks inside a car parked outside a jewelry store at two in the morning doing the same kind of thing? The law in its present state appears to say he is. Common sense says he is not. How about some discussion of such distinctions by qualified writers, including Mr. van den Haag?

Daniel C. Reuter
Monterey, Mass.

I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Supreme Court infallibility, but neither do I believe that the Court takes a perverse pleasure in freeing criminals, as Ernest van den Haag's article on the exclusionary rule implies.

The exclusionary rule (which denies prosecutors the right to use illegally seized evidence) is the Court's answer to the question of how to police the police. Under the rule, police who undertake unjustified, warrantless searches accomplish nothing. Without the rules, police could (and did), with impunity, search anybody at any place at any time on the off-chance of finding something incriminating. And considering the number of crimes now on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the books, everyone not in a coma is guilty of something.

The ham-fisted approach advocated by Mr. van den Haag—"punish the policemen who committed . . . unlawful acts"—fails for lack of someone to do the punishing. On the other hand, by removing the incentive to ignore the law, the exclusionary rule promotes, in a practical way, policemen's obedience to the constitutional stricture of no warrant, no search.

The point Mr. van den Haag makes with his anecdotes is that the rule has the unhappy side-effect of occasionally releasing guilty people. Nobody disputes this, although one can dispute Mr. van den Haag's naked-eye analysis that the number released by the rule is "significant."

The fundamental issue is whether it is better that some escape punishment, or that the people lose the right to be secure from unreasonable government searches. If one believes that the guilty must be apprehended at all costs, on what grounds does one oppose police omnipotence? The exclusionary rule is a lousy way to enforce obedience to the law by police, but so far it's the best system that has been devised.

Raymond L. Robert
Castle Rock, Colo.

Mr. van den Haag Replies

As Mr. Reuter proposes, we might quite profitably discuss which searches are unreasonable, which confessions are invalid. However, the question was: Given the illegality of some searches and confessions, what should be done with the evidence obtained?

Mr. Robert maintains that the nonadmissibility of evidence unlawfully obtained "promotes policemen's obedience" to the Constitution. That was the intention of the exclusionary rule. But even the Supreme Court has by now admitted that the rule has not had the intended effect. Before the Warren Court extended the rule to the states, some had independently adopted it, others had not. Nobody has been able to show any difference in police conduct. Police departments do not evaluate members on the basis of convictions but on the basis of the arrests they make. Actually the rule has encouraged ineffective arrests. Officers may wish (or feel compelled) to make arrests they know will not lead to convictions. That is how gambling and drug dealing often have been dealt with and, I am afraid, other things too.

Mr. Robert tells us that "without the [exclusionary] rule police could (and did), with impunity, search anybody." The impunity remains, regardless of the rule. Wherefore no effect on police conduct was ever noted. The rule punishes not police but society. Hence I proposed that police be disciplined for misconduct by

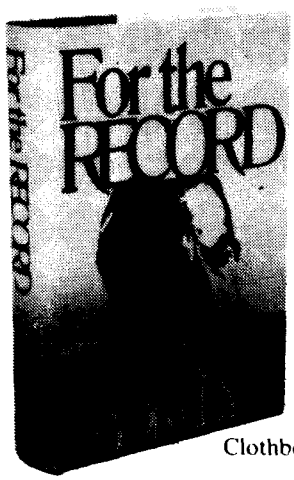
"One of the best political biographies of recent years"
— James MacGregor Burns

HERBERT HOOVER
A PUBLIC LIFE
by David Burner

Photo: Underwood and Underwood

August Heckscher, in the N. Y. Times Book Review: "If there was a time to assail Hoover, there is also a time to look at him with fresh eyes. And Burner's book is an excellent means to that end."

433 pages with 40 photographs • $15.95
Published by Knopf



Clothbound $15.

"It was a useful life altogether, in which everything that came his way was turned to good account."
—*The Kirkus Reviews*

In bookstores or directly from the publisher

REGNERY/GATEWAY, INC.
BOOK PUBLISHERS

P.O. Box 207, Dept. AA
South Bend, IN 46624

Free Details
SUCCESS
Breakthrough

An astonishing new system can help you acquire more wealth than you've ever dreamed of – with no risk on your part whatsoever. You need no capital to put this *dynamic new system* to work for you – nor must you give up your present job.

Developed by Ted Nicholas, one of America's most successful entrepreneurs, this system is guaranteed to work for you or its valuable secrets won't cost you a dime. Many users of Ted Nicholas' techniques are now making in excess of $50,000 yearly, just by following these easy-to-understand guidelines.

Details are absolutely free. We'll even send along a FREE bonus worth $6.00 when you ask to examine the system for 30 days without risk. Send no money! Simply write the words **Opportunities Unlimited** on a piece of paper, along with your name and address, and send it to: ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, Dept. NR-94U , 1300 Market Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801. *Don't Wait – Mail Today!*

c Enterprise Institute, 1978

Enterprise Institute
The University for Entrepreneurs
A non-profit organization U6004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more direct means. Special prosecutors could do so, and damage suits could be facilitated.

Ernest van den Haag
New York, N.Y.

The Gap

Just a note to record my relief upon seeing PLB's memo to WFB ["Notes & Asides," March 2] on the Rockefeller gap. I have never been so confounded (and finally depressed) as by my first reading of that obit.

A. Lawrence Chickering
San Francisco, Calif.

Marx Is Dead

We are witnessing ["The Week," March 30] an extraordinary event: armed conflict among Communist powers. I believe this is the first time that has ever happened (apart from minor skirmishes). What is being overlooked is the impact of this on theoretical Marxism. According to that ideology, what's happening is impossible: universal socialism was to usher in universal peace. War was the product of capitalist imperialism, as capitalists competed for markets. Yet here we have a war that scarcely involves economic motives at all, a war fought for socialist supremacy.

Thus we have the shattering of a belief system, a blow to the Marxist dialectic that is even more damaging to the faithful than was the Hitler-Stalin pact. History hinges on those moments when beliefs are created or lost; what ensues is a rallying to or falling away from the banners of ideas.

The current Asian war is so pivotal that it could signal the death of Marxism, an ideology seriously eroded but still able to command almost religious support. So far, the Western press has done nothing to emphasize the gaping gulf between Marxist theory and our first Communist war. But when the awareness does come it will have a catastrophic impact on global Communism. Solzhenitsyn noted that not a soul in the USSR believes in Marxism; the present war may expand his observation to global compass. We may have won the Vietnam War after all.

Richard S. Wheeler
Wauwatosa, Wis.

Junking the Post Office

There is a solution to the Post Office fiasco ["The Week," Jan. 5], but it needs the kind of thinking which probably only exists outside the bureaucracy. Since junk mail gives the PO the most trouble, and gets the cheaper rate, while first class must put up with indifferent service, why not let the junk mail purveyors deliver their own mail under Postal Service license? They could use United News Service or Reuben H. Donnelly. Or when a small town, far from a big-city distribution center, becomes an unprofitable burden, license a local mail service. The local people can pick up the mail, sort it, and deliver it locally. They can almost certainly do it more cheaply because of low overhead.

The PO would be left with a complex of national and state distribution centers which would mesh with the local systems, in which private entrepreneurs would deliver local mail competitively. With private enterprise working, costs would be kept down while service would improve. If a local outfit gave poor service, its license would not be renewed. Isn't it worth a try?

John T. Robertson
West Chester, Pa.

Interior Edicts

A letter was issued recently by the U.S. Department of the Interior on the "Elimination of Sexual Discrimination." Directed to the attention of All Lower Colorado Region Supervisors, the letter outlined the importance of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and specified ways in which the supervisors could promote ERA. The concluding paragraph is more than a little disturbing: "Accordingly, I am asking each supervisor and manager in this Region to comply with the above directives regardless of personal preferences or political opinions. This is not to be considered a partisan issue, but one which federal employers are now obliged to support."

Now read again, in "Human Rights in China" by Simon Leys [Dec. 8], the quote by Bettelheim: "To know only those things which your superiors allow you to know is more or less the condition of a small child. . . . To refrain from observing and to accept blindly other people's version amounts to renouncing one's own ability for reasoning and even one's perceptive faculties. . . . Eventually one ceases to live one's own life, which was precisely the goal the SS aimed at."

Or again, note the quote from *1984*: "The Party told you to reject the evidence of your eyes and ears. It was their final, most essential command."

Norma R. Lineberger
Fullerton, Calif.

The Great MacNelly

Jeff MacNelly's drawings ["Help!"] get better and better. So good to see them also in *Newsweek* or *Time*. He gets the message said in exactly the right way.

Shirley Heffernan
Orinda, Calif.

Don't Miss The
FREEDOM IN THIRD CENTURY AMERICA SUMMER SEMINAR!
Northwood Institute
Midland, Michigan

JULY 29-AUGUST 4, 1979

THEME: "The Individual in Today's Economy"

FEATURING:
Robert Bleiberg, Richard DeVos, Howard E. Kershner, Russell Kirk, Lewis Lloyd, Howard Ruff, Kenneth Ryker, Hans F. Sennholz, Hon. Steve Symms, V. Orval Watts, and MORE!

PRICE: $275—includes room, board, printed matter, and all lectures!

FOR A BROCHURE ON THE SEMINAR OF THE YEAR, WRITE:

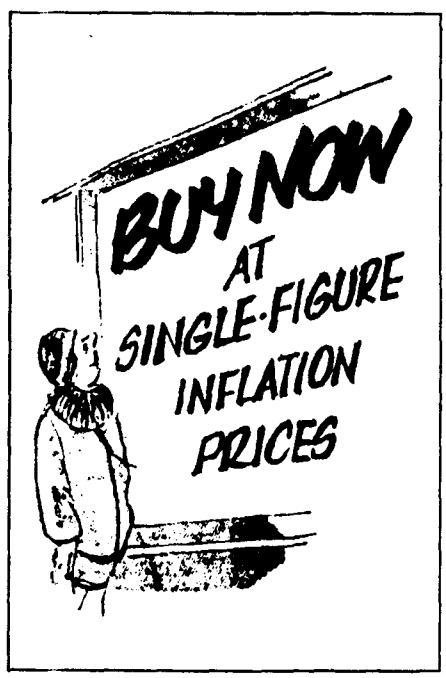
LAWRENCE W. REED, *Seminar Director*
Northwood Institute
Midland, Michigan 48640

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

It's full steam ahead for the anti-
ce warriors. **George McGovern** will
d off in Congress with a bill calling
a moratorium on the building of
v nuclear plants. . . . Other laws
the works, to upgrade safety and
ılth regulations and to repeal **Price-
derson** Act which puts a ceiling on
urance payments in the event of nu-
ar accidents. . . . Protestors blos-
ıed across the land the week fol-
ving **Three Mile Island** accident. In
ıshington anti-Vietnam activist **Phil-
Berrigan** turned up and harangued
nonstrators to "struggle against the
rmakers like the one across the
eet [from Lafayette Park in the
ıite House]." Placards included
ell No, We Won't Glow," and "Melt
wn Corporate Power." . . . Members
150 organizations including the
ımshell and **Palmetto Alliances, Mo-
ization for Survival, War Resisters
ague, Socialist Workers Party, Union
Concerned Scientists** ("Les Savants
ɔccupés as the French call them)
d met just before Three Mile Island
map out major demonstration in
ıshington April 28, 1980; a hurried
eting last week was called to ad-
ıce the date by nearly a year, May
79. . . . Polls now show only 46
r cent of Americans favor further
velopment of **nuclear power,** as
ainst 69 per cent two years ago.
ree Mile Island was, says the *New
rk Times*, "a key factor in the shift."
. The nuclear incident in Pennsyl-
nia hasn't stopped **France**'s plans to
ild nine new nuclear plants between
80 and 1985. At the opening of the
.8-billion Tricastin plant last week,
ench Prime Minister **Raymond Barre**
t it on the line: "It's either nuclear
ergy or economic recession and mass
employment."

That Israel-Egypt peace treaty has



Holland, *London Sunday Telegraph* Rothco

been a flop in the polls. **Carter**'s rating went up only nine points in foreign policy, his over-all rating up only one point (to 29 per cent positive) the week following the signing. In contrast, after Camp David he enjoyed a 16-point surge. . . . In its yearly rundown of the most powerful men in America, *U.S. New* rates Jimmy Carter Number One and **Teddy Kennedy** Two (up from 16 a year ago). Third is House Speaker **Tip O'Neill**, fourth **George Meany**, fifth Senate Majority Leader **Robert Byrd**.

■ Every four years Republicans in New Hampshire hold a fundraising dinner to salute "The Next President of the United States." At this year's gala, seven GOP hopefuls put in an appearance: Sens. **Robert Dole** and **Lowell Weicker**, Reps. **John Anderson** and **Philip Crane**, **John Connally**, **George Bush**, and **Harold Stassen**. **Ronald Reagan** was represented by his wife, **Nancy**, and Sen. **Orrin Hatch**. (It was, incidentally, Phil Crane's 21st visit to New Hampshire since he announced his candidacy last summer.) . . . And yet more entries are expected. *Washington Post* "Ear" Column says Sen. **Charles Mathias** (Md.) may enter the New Hampshire primary, and *Chicago Tribune* says Former Secretary-of-Everything **Elliot Richardson** is lining up speaking engagements in N.H. . . . On Democratic side, Sen. **John Durkin** says he could enter N.H. primary as a favorite son, presumably as Kennedy stalking horse.

■ Two big conservative do's on the May calendar. On May 4–6 in Chicago (Holiday Inn, O'Hare/Kennedy) the first political action conference of the **Pro-Life Political Action Committee**. Speakers include Father **Charles Fiore**, NPLPac founder; Sen. **Jesse Helms**; Rep. **Howard Hyde**; **Ellen McCormack**, pro-life presidential candidate in 1976; and **Mary Jane Tobin**, gubernatorial candidate in New York in 1978 on Right to Life ticket. (For info write: Pro-Life Political Action Conference, 253 Main St., Northport, N.Y. 11768.) . . . On May 12, at Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., **Malcolm Muggeridge** will be principal speaker at ISI conference dinner. Other speakers, **Thomas Molnar**, **Frederick Wilhelmsen**, **Alexander Schmemann**. (For info: ISI, 14 S. Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010.)

■ Actuarial Note: Having noted the rapidity with which heads of state are being knocked off in underdeveloped lands these days, President **Mobutu Sese Seko** of Zaire is taking his precautions. He has ordered from a Belgian jeweler a ten-pound gold-plated bullet-proof vest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Technicians continue their race against time to remove the bubble of noxious gases under the Capitol dome that is overheating Congress and threatening a catastrophic federal melt-down.

■ Joseph Califano is moving to cut off $90 million in federal funds to North Carolina's public university system for continuing to run what the *New York Times* calls "a racially segregated system of higher education." The government complaint is that predominantly white schools don't have enough blacks, that black schools receive less state support, and that duplication of curricula by black and white schools within the same area discourages integration. Note that "predominantly" now means "segregated." Black students presumably have access to "white" schools, but that won't do. There must be Balance. Who says? The fellow with the $90 million. Who saw it coming? Those hysterical folks who warned against federal aid to education in the first place.

■ General Motors reports that in 1977 it spent $1.6 billion—yes, billion—complying with federal regulations, or about one-third of its gross earnings. Compliance took an effort equivalent to 24,500 man-years. A study sponsored by Business Roundtable, an organization of chief executives of large corporations, found that compliance with regulations from just six federal agencies cost 48 member corporations $2.6 billion in 1977, not counting secondary costs (delays, lost opportunities, ulcers). Of this sum, 77 per cent was attributed to the good folks at the Environmental Protection Agency. Informed estimates of the direct cost of federal regulation of the economy range from $80 billion to $150 billion a year or anywhere from $1,500 to $3,000 per year for a family of four.

■ The only nuts-'n'-bolts argument for setting up a Cabinet-level Department of Education is that the new department would crank out regulations much faster. As things now stand, a new reg has to work its way up through 26 jurisdictional levels in HEW before it c hatch into a plague in the nation's school districts. T new department would cut the red-tape factor from to 11, a horrible prospect. The political argument the new department is that the NEA will campaign the politicians who promote it; and candidate Car promised the NEA he'd give 'em their lollipop. Sir the NEA now boasts it has evolved into the strong political force in the country, it may very well have way. But don't expect any improvement in the countr hapless educational system.

■ In two votes on identical amendments designed to p mit voluntary prayer in the public schools, the Sen unexpectedly voted yes twice: first 47 to 37, then 51 40. The amendments, sponsored by Jesse Helms, wo remove the issue of school prayer from the jurisdicti of the Supreme Court—a tactic which has constitutio sanction but which has never actually been consummat With his usual eloquence, President Carter respond by opining that "the government ought to stay out the prayer business," said government having been the prayer business since 1963 when the Court stepp in to ban prayer. Helms's amendment should prev a) to protect the individuals right, yea, even to pray, a b) to circumscribe the cultural imperialism of the Cou And why haven't we heard, lo these many years, abo the defense of academic freedom where prayer is co cerned? *Credo ut intelligam*, after all, is an argual position, and one unrefuted by the Court.

■ After six years of experience with the all-volunte military, the Pentagon and some politicians are n talking of returning to some form of draft. The pro lem lies not in the number or quality of the new recrui who compare favorably with the recruits in the last p Vietnam year. The most serious weakness is in the R serves and the National Guard, and it seems reasonal to think in terms of direct recruitment into those for of service while upgrading the career opportunities op to volunteers in the active services. Underlying the d bate is a nasty suspicion that the politicians are seeki to hold down defense spending by compulsory servi at low wages. Instead of taxing the taxpayers to supp a voluntary military, they would tax the young by co pelling them to accept substandard employment. If t principal disputants fail to put their cards on the tab the debate will hardly be enlightening.

■ One of the hottest properties on the political scer a prophet of the tax revolt and increased productivit Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.) has left frien and political analysts alike pondering his future. Kem of course, could represent his Buffalo, New York co gressional district—well, forever . . . perhaps becomi the first Republican Speaker of the House since the la Joe Martin. He could run against either Jacob Javits Henry Kissinger for the New York Senate seat not no

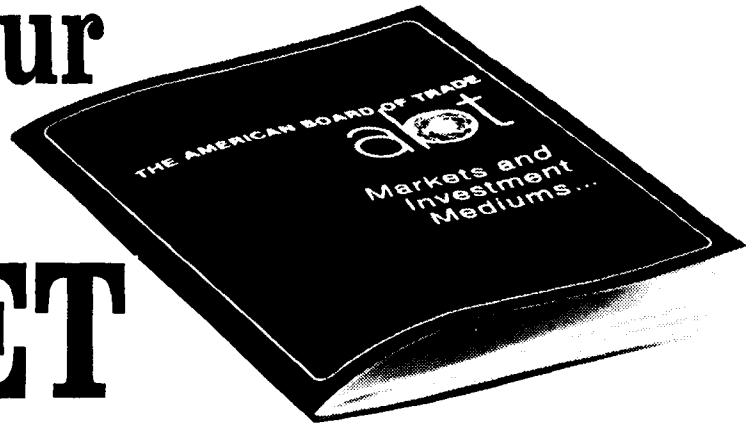
Toward Safer Reactors

The next one that goes up should be
Constructed so the folks can see
The plume above the chimney's flue
From Pennsylvania Avenue.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

send for your FREE BOOKLET



"ABT Markets and Investment Mediums"

A special invitation to you from the first exchange and marketplace in the U.S. devoted exclusively to the needs and interests of average traders and investors at the grass roots level . . .

"ABT MARKETS and INVESTMENT MEDIUMS" is a comprehensive but easy-to-understand booklet describing the basic approaches that you can use to take advantage of the unusual profit potential inherent in the unique and exciting markets and investment mediums offered by The American Board of Trade.

These ABT markets and investment mediums are geared exclusively to the financial needs and interests of average grass roots investors and business persons, who are seeking worthwhile returns on investment and risk capital and desire to bypass and eliminate the "go-go" and "rah-rah" concepts and methods that so often lead to losses and setbacks in the traditional world of finance.

If you are one of these persons. . .and you want to invest and/or speculate with a portion of your capital. . .the ABT markets and investment mediums may be your approach to trading and investing profitably, and safely.

GENERAL ADVANTAGES OF TRADING and INVESTING WITH THE ABT

As you may know, The American Board of Trade was founded in New York in 1969 as an alternative to the Wall Street octopus whose tentacles always seemed to be squeezing the average investor and businessman out of the financial action. ABT was established as a marketplace through which ALL investors, small-to-moderate as well as large, could effectively employ their capital in a wide variety of sound trading and investment opportunities.

In its customers' relations, marketmaking functions and fiduciary responsibilities, the record of The American Board of Trade since its founding in 1969 **is unmatched by any other exchange or marketplace in the U.S.**

The FREE BOOKLET fully describes the operations of The American Board of Trade and also lists and features detailed write-ups of-

THE ABT MARKETS INVESTMENT MEDIUMS AND SERVICES

which have been developed specifically to serve average investors, traders and business persons. These carefully planned markets, investment mediums and services have attracted nationwide attention among seasoned professionals. . .beginners . . .and general investors. Here's a quick listing of the unique ABT areas of investment finance that attract such attention and which are reviewed in detail in the FREE BOOKLET, "ABT MARKETS and INVESTMENT MEDIUMS":

- ☐ ABT COMMODITY & FOREIGN CURRENCY OPTIONS
- ☐ ABT SPOT GOLD BULLION MARKET
- ☐ ABT SPOT SILVER BULLION MARKET
- ☐ ABT SPOT SILVER COIN MARKET
- ☐ ABT SPOT & FORWARD FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET
- ☐ SUPERVISED TRADING PROGRAMS "FX-1" AND "FX-2"
- ☐ SUPERVISED DOUBLE OPTIONS TRADING PROGRAM "FX-0"
- ☐ 3-MONTH & 6-MONTH ABT COMMERCIAL PAPER
- ☐ 3-MONTH & 6-MONTH U.S. TREASURY BILLS
- ☐ NEW ENGLAND FARM EQUITY FINANCE
- ☐ MEMBERSHIP SEATS ON THE ABT
- ☐ PUBLICATIONS AFFILIATED WITH ABT: "GOLD & SILVER LETTER". . . "FOREIGN EXCHANGE LETTER". . . "JOURNAL OF INVESTMENT FINANCE". . ."ABT TRADING & INVESTING GUIDELINES"

SEND TODAY FOR YOUR FREE COPY OF "ABT MARKETS and INVESTMENT MEDIUMS"

We believe you will find the booklet, "ABT MARKETS and INVESTMENT MEDIUMS" one of the most interesting and unusual presentations ever published in the fields of specualtion and finance. You are invited to send for your complimentary copy by filling in and mailing the convenient coupon below. Your booklet will be mailed promptly by First Class Mail.

Please send me, via First Class Mail, a copy of the free booklet, "ABT MARKETS and INVESTMENT MEDIUMS," listing and describing the markets, investment mediums and services offered by The American Board of Trade, Inc.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

abt **THE AMERICAN BOARD OF TRADE, Inc.**
286 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10001

NR-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

On May 1, George Bush will announce his candidacy for the Presidency. He will spend most of the day in airplanes, touching down on tarmacs of high political symbolism, playing the game of media hopscotch. Not until the following day, however, will the Bush campaign reach New Hampshire, where, in the frosty analysis of his major opponents, it will end abruptly in the winter of 1980.

Subject to change without notice, the race for the GOP nomination has narrowed from the pygmy 12 to the Big Five. Ronald Reagan, John Connally, Howard Baker, Phil Crane, and George Bush are all conceded a reasonable chance of winning the prize. As the primaries move West and South, the regional strengths of Reagan, Connally, and Baker are projected to kick in, afterburner-style. Crane, who lacks a regional base, is presumed to have a national New Right constituency the precise dimensions of which have never been measured but whose potency nobody is prepared casually to dismiss. Which leaves George Bush, the candidate who appears to have everything but votes.

An immediate impression is that the Bush campaign apparatus is presidential. His top staff includes such people as Campaign Manager Jim Baker, Political Director David Keene, Press Secretary Peter Teeley, and Finance Chairman Robert Mosbocher. These are all brand-names in Republican politics, with enough political savvy among them to elect a less formidable man.

Then there is the candidate. If you were designing the bionic politician, you might want to steal the blueprints for George Bush. He has taken on the tough jobs—Ambassador to the UN zoo, chairman of the Watergate-era Republican National Committee, first envoy to a transitional Peking, director of a glassy-eyed Central Intelligence Agency—and he has acquitted himself well at each stop. Now there are citizens here and there who will say that not all those jobs needed doing, but there is no argument with Bush's record in the service of his country and his party: it is one of sustained accomplishment. Perhaps more remarkable, Bush has been able to get things done while winning the affection of those around him. Pressed to say something critical of George Bush, even longtime Washington nasties can do no better than imply that he is a nice guy, nothing more.

The case for Bush-for-President is that he is a man of experience, integrity, and competence. That case is supportable in every particular and sprays question marks all over the opposition. Can Crane be sold as the man of experience? Connally as the man of integrity? Is there anything in Baker's record to suggest that he could get a managerial grip on the federal octopus? Take Bush's personal assets, add in his winning personality, his network of national contacts, and a congenially Republican ideology, and you should have political synergy. But politics doesn't work that way, and, instead, we find the totality of the Bush campaign amounting to something less than the sum of its parts. A mere 1 per cent of the Republican electorate supports him in current polls. That's Weickerville.

Which brings us back to New Hampshire. *If* Bush can avoid an early primary in Texas (and with it the threat of a third-place finish behind Connally and Reagan in his home state), and *if* he can avoid an utter embarrassment in the Iowa caucuses, and *if* he can ma a "surprisingly strong" showing in Co necticut (that is, give the media sor thing with which to thrash Weicke *then* it all comes down to New Han shire. If Bush does well in New Han shire, he could trip the switch of t media merry-go-round, activating t lights, the buzzers, and the calliope. Y should never forget that in recent ye the sturdy yeomen of New Hampsh have given us such improbable nor nees as George McGovern, Ger Ford, and Jimmy Carter.

And so, inevitably, the question 1980 is how well is "well"? The Bu people are putting out the carefully ca brated word that they will have to fin in the top three in New Hampshi That's not saying very much, but it saying something. To finish in the t three, they will have to knock off least two of the Big Five. The pa line from Bush headquarters is no dou conservative, advanced in the expec tion that media oddsmakers will up t ante to "top two." But even that goal within reach. Money, polls, media, a national ID won't count for much. T primary will be won in the same w that congressional races are won, motivating small groups of dedicat supporters.

To this point in his career, Geor Bush has won only two elections. 1966, he became the first Republic congressman ever elected from Hou ton. And in 1968, the Democr couldn't find a candidate to oppose hi He looks at New Hampshire and sees a tiny, quirky state, about the si of a congressional district. He looks the primary field, already crowded w Westerners and Southerners, and rec ons it could use at least one Yankee.

—CA

held by Pat Moynihan. He is being urged by close associates IK, JW, and JB to run for President. He would also be a strong vice presidential choice on a ticket headed by someone from California or Texas. But, the clock is running.

■ Accuracy in Media, that retromingent gadfly to the American media, has once again assessed the human rights reporting of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. Upon the record provided by the papers' own indexes for 1977, Fidel Castro and Teng Hsiao-ping can breathe easily. President Pinochet and Pieter Botha should be nervous. In 1977 the *Times* and *Post* togeth published 485 human rights stories, editorials, or piec of opinion on South Africa, but only 152 on Idi Amir Uganda. Chile's rights performance was scrutinized 106 stories, while Cuba was mentioned in seventy. Chin that incipient democracy, was mentioned in 65 huma rights items. Some of this imbalance can be account for, of course, by access: Chile and South Africa invi Western reporters, while Communist regimes exclu them. But such distinctions usually escape liberal editor And so the conditioning of American readers continu apace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On April 5, Senator Dick Stone (D., Fla.) and Senator John Heinz (R., Pa.), acting as co-sponsors, introduced their Resolution calling on the Senate to propose a constitutional amendment to limit the growth of federal expenditures. This is the proposal developed by Milton Friedman and the National Tax Limitation Committee; it limits the growth of federal expenditures to the rate of growth of the national economy, and provides an incentive to reduce inflation, for the spending limit would be further reduced when inflation exceeds 7 per cent. Senators Heinz and Stone held a news conference that morning, showing themselves to be not only able and attractive but also thoroughly versed in the details of the proposal. They handled the reporters' questions with ease, dispatch, and enthusiasm. And good cheer—asked whether he hadn't taken part in the very spending he now seeks to limit, Senator Heinz candidly admitted he had, saying, "People in glass houses shouldn't throw stones." A side glance toward his colleague from Florida, then: "I mean, rocks." The proposed amendment is off to a good start.

■ Governor Jerry Brown just couldn't win for losing last week. He flew east to testify before the Senate Energy Committee, and as soon as he was safely out of California his Lieutenant Governor, Mike Curb, a Republican, made an appointment to the appellate bench. Jerry Brown withdrew the appointment, creating a legal imbo, underscoring his failure to fill about 35 vacancies that have been yawning for months, and highlighting a problem that will plague him if he starts serious national campaigning while a Republican Lieutenant Governor abhors the vacuum of an absent Jerry. He never made it to the Energy Committee, choosing instead to fly to New Hampshire and testify, at the request of Republicans, for his pet project, the constitutional convention to call for a balanced-budget amendment. Brown's nameplate and an empty chair were publicized in Washington; in New Hampshire the Democrats ran him off, and he never did testify there either. So he flew off to Africa with sweet songbird Linda Ronstadt amid rumors they'd be married on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. His father, former Governor Pat Brown, denying any inside info, said, "You know, Jerry says I think I'm still Governor, and I guess if I were him I wouldn't confide in me either." Small comfort—but then Jerry always said small was beautiful.

■ The wall posters are mostly down, and when they'll be back nobody knows. Last December, when U.S. relations with Mainland China were normalized, the Free World felt the excitement of unfamiliar sights: discos, newly colorful dress, hair dryers—but above all, wall posters demanding freedom, some of them even signed. Behind that expressionless façade, Maoist man had not forgotten. But where are the posters of yesteryear? The *Peking Daily* now snarls at "certain young comrades" who are "begging for the support of imperialism in their espousal of human rights." Of all the wall posters on those "democracy walls," only one remained as of last week. The sheer effrontery of politicians reaches its visible apogee in Communist leadership.

■ Who cares who killed Roger Ackroyd? asked Edmund Wilson in a famous book review. Who cares what Margaret Trudeau smokes and who bedded her? he might have asked now in a review of her memoirs, *Beyond Reason*. The short answer seems to be almost everybody. Rebelling against a restrictive background, Margaret Trudeau became, in her own words, a "failed hippie." Her story has been widely serialized in Canada and abroad, even in such high-minded and tut-tutting papers as the *Boston Globe*. Circulation soars. The erstwhile first lady of Canada seems to have sought a sense of personal significance by pursuing famous men, from Prime Minister to rock superstar. Teddy Kennedy has nominated her for the 1979 fiction award. Pierre Trudeau, in deep political trouble as he runs for re-election, could benefit from a significant sympathy vote. And that's the way it is, even if Plato wouldn't have liked it.

■ Marcel Boiteux ("peg-leg"), president of the French utility company Electricité de France, has kicked up a fuss over electricity rates. He says the standard rate should go, and in its stead the customers should pay enough to cover the actual cost of generating power in their districts. All very *raisonnable*, until the anti-nuke gang swings into action. They've been blocking the development of nuclear power in western France while enjoying the low standard rate thanks to imports from the nuclear generators in the eastern regions. So: why not require a region that rejects the cheaper nuclear energy to pay the higher cost of the coal or oil alternative?

■ President Carter's get-tough policy on Soviet expansionism and violations of human rights has at last begun to pay off in a big way. Carter signaled this by approving the sale to the Soviet Union of an advanced U.S. computer system. The Soviets wanted the computer last summer, but Carter put his foot down, charging Soviet outrages against newsmen and dissidents. Since the summer, however, Moscow has shown a new and surprising respect for human rights, has allowed freedom of the press, has begun to pull back from seven continents, and has allowed various dissident spokesmen to air their views. "I do not agree with them," said Leonid Brezhnev last week, "but I will fight to the death for their right to say it." President Carter deserves high praise for his courageous policy, and for his decision to permit the sale of the advanced computer.

■ DIFFERENT STROKES, OR, IF YOU WANT MY BODY AND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU THINK I'M SEXY, WHAT'S IT WORTH? DEPT. After Moslem fanatics burned down the red light district in Teheran, the Ayatollah Khomeini took the high road and asked the Ministry of Labor to retrain the prostitutes and find jobs for them, notwithstanding that they are already back on the streets. However, in New York City, Teamster leader Barry Feinstein states that he wants prostitution legalized and, in particular, wants said working class to join Local 237 of the Teamsters, which come to think of it, is as good a union as any under the circumstances.

■ Rumor has it that Linda Ronstadt is about to split with Jerry Brown and sue him for half of California.

Harrisburg

I. The Event

At four in the morning, March 28, a defective valve poured radioactive cooling water onto the floor of the Three Mile Island power plant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Radioactive steam escaped through the ventilation system of an outbuilding, and engineers labored for several days to draw off a bubble which prevented the immersion of the reactor's fuel rods.

Post-mortems on the accident—the worst ever in the Free World—will be pouring in for months. NATIONAL REVIEW will present an analysis in its next issue. A few conclusions, however, already suggest themselves.

The reactions of nuclear critics were preposterous. Stephen Stills called off a rock concert halfway across the state for fear of radiation (the state feared that it would have to evacuate, at worst, a radius of 25 miles). George Wald flew down from Harvard to announce that *every* dose of radiation is an overdose (except, it seems, the radiation absorbed from cosmic rays during plane flights). Ernest Sternglass, radiologist, declared that the Three Mile Island emissions equaled the "major fallout pattern from a bomb test" (the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources reported "ten times more fallout in the air after the last Red Chinese bomb test").

The actions of the State of Pennsylvania were exemplary. Freshman Governor Thornburgh promptly warned of the worst that might happen; subsequent advice was calm and to the point. Radioactive iodine, the chief contaminant released, has a half life of only eight days. Iodine gravitates to the thyroids, however, which are most vulnerable in children and unborn infants. The governor quite properly recommended that children and pregnant women move from the area of the plant as a temporary precaution.

The behavior of the utility was scandalous. Spokesmen prevaricated after the accident, and workers blundered before it. Some backup systems were shut dow others, which went to work as predicted, were turned o too soon. None of this means that the diligent safety r search that has been poured into nuclear power is i valid, or that further refinements cannot be made. does mean that we must make use of the knowledge w do have.

Making use of knowledge is the responsibility of th Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Yet the NR had reportedly been discussing equipment failures an inadequate training at Three Mile Island for thre months, without taking action. Anti-nuclear activists wi sniff a cover-up. The *Detroit News* suggests anothe answer: ideological rifts within the NRC. Anonymou NRC officials quoted by the *News* described the staff a "politicized" and "semi-paralyzed." The Carter Whi House has given the NRC a stiff infusion of anti-nuclea blood, mixing uneasily with the commissioners and sta inherited from previous Administrations. Pros and ant should save debates for the hustings and attend to th work at hand.

II. The Reaction

The political fallout was much easier to monito normal people were alarmed, and the Left was jubilan Nuclear issues dropped on the New York Stock Ex change, coal stocks rose. A national convention of hard ware dealers switched an April 24 meeting from Harri burg to Memphis. Congress-watchers reassessed th chances of a Carter proposal to cut the ten-year licensin period for nuclear plants in half. Demonstrators in dozen cities (see p. 517) chanted "Hell no, we won glow," and "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want t radiate."

Interest in the accident also showed itself in less likel places. Three thousand demonstrators turned up i Groton, Connecticut to protest the christening of th nuclear submarine *Ohio*; many wore buttons readin "We All Live in Harrisburg." The Clamshell Allianc and the Mobilization for Survival jointly sponsored th demonstration; "if you've done your homework," as on

Those interested in the continued relevance of NATIONA REVIEW's special issue on nuclear power (February 2 1979) will note that the freakish combination of circum stances leading to a hydrogen gas bubble was not specifi cally foreseen by any American scientist, including critic of nuclear energy. The published discussions of thos safety systems that made it possible to contain the bubbl and disperse it, and of the chances of even worse acci dents, remain fully relevant. Copies of this issue ma still be ordered at $2 apiece, while the supply lasts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leader put it, "you know you can't separate the two issues."

The conflation of nuclear weapons and nuclear power will surprise only those who have been unaware of the Soviet Union's role—small, covert, but growing—in opposing both. Bayard Stockton and Peter Janke, in a recent report for the Paris Center for Political and Social Documentation, remark that the Soviets have been penetrating ecological organizations in the West since the 1973-74 oil crisis, ". . . with the objective of hamstringing efforts to develop practical alternative energy sources." The report, begun well before the Harrisburg accident, specifically cited the Mobilization for Survival as "powerfully aided" by Soviet-sponsored groups

The only antidote against perplexity on the one hand and increasing fanaticism on the other is a sense of perspective. No partisan of nuclear power maintains that it is risk-free—simply that it is less risky than available alternatives. Between 1870 and 1950, over thirty thousand coal miners died in Pennsylvania alone; hundreds continue to die from cave-ins, black lung, transportation accidents, and cancers presumably caused by coal smoke each year. The need for nuclear power is real; the dangers can—and should—be surmounted, at reasonable cost.

III. The Irresponsibility Syndrome

While demonstrators chanted and scientists worked overtime, Columbia Pictures raked in handsome profits from their newest movie, *The China Syndrome*, starring Jane Fonda and Jack Lemmon, a disaster thriller in the *Towering Inferno*, *Poseidon Adventure* genre; but instead of burning buildings or sunken ships, the artifact-gone-berserk is a nuclear reactor. We note a few of its errors for those who might be tempted, post-Harrisburg, to seek a quick primer.

"China syndrome" is old industry jargon for a molten reactor core that burns through steel, concrete, and soil all the way, potentially, to China—in practice, to ground water, which would then disperse in a cloud of radioactive steam.

If such a melt-down did occur, the film states, an area "the size of Pennsylvania would be rendered permanently uninhabitable." But Pennsylvania covers 45,000 square miles. The worst *possible* nuclear accident would contaminate 290 square miles, none of which would become "permanently" uninhabitable (Hiroshima is inhabitable).

Such an accident nearly occurs in the movie, where it is at first attributed to an earth tremor. In June, four Japanese reactors functioned through an earthquake that registered 7.5 on the Richter scale.

The film finally portrays the government ducking its responsibilities. This (see above) is uncomfortably plausible, though not for the reasons the movie adduces—that the NRC is an incestuous partisan of the industry.

Uluschak, *Edmonton Journal* Rothco

"Don't blame me—I'm simply a victim of our permissive society."

The timing of the moviemakers was particularly unfortunate, since the NRC had just last month closed five plants in the Northeast to correct a minor design error discovered by contractors and reported by utilities.

These blunders are not surprising, considering the cast and crew. "Is our movie fair?" director James Bridges mused to the *New York Times*. "Let's say it's not impartial." "I'm not impressed by the nuclear industry," Jane Fonda announced on the *Today Show*. "I'm interested in the fact that there are alternatives, and that's where I put my energy." Clearly the natives are restless; there haven't been any trips to Hanoi for four years, and committed show-Folk have to do *something*.

They are not going to perform any more intelligently in the nuclear controversy than they did during the Vietnam War, if *The China Syndrome* is any indication, and for substantially the same reasons. "Moral posturing," writes columnist George Will, "is easy when responsibility is remote: if entertainers mislead the public about energy alternatives, they risk no more than bad reviews. If government misrepresents the alternatives, the lights may go out."

No SALT

The Carter Administration and the foreign policy establishment have mounted a major political offensive on behalf of the impending SALT II agreement. The usual flacks are busily flacking. The case is being made in terms of "national interest," i.e., we will be "safer" with SALT than without it. Other arguments touch on Carter's prestige—he "needs" an agreement—and on something called the "SALT process" itself: this last involves us in "negotiations" with the Soviets, and may lead to a "sum-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mit," both of which are supposed to be self-evidently good.

Even at the *detailed* level of argument, however—and that is not the most important level—SALT II has begun to unravel. Senator John Glenn (D., Ohio) is a key figure in the politics of ratification. The Administration has been counting on him for SALT support. At the recent launching of a Trident submarine, however, Glenn's christening speech stressed the verification problem. The Administration's vague term "monitoring" was not good enough for him. He demanded over-flight of the USSR. He demanded that the Soviets stop coding the signals received from their missiles in test flight, an obvious evasion of "monitoring." Glenn's demands are unlikely to be satisfied, and he seems headed for the opposition.

Almost at the same time, a former CIA analyst, David Sullivan, published hitherto secret charges to the effect that on SALT I Nixon and Kissinger had been substantially deceived: on the SS-19, on Soviet submarine missile capability, and on a Soviet version of the mobile missile, which Sullivan claims has now been deployed.

Important, yes; telling politically, yes; entirely predictable, yes; but not the main issue, which exists at a different level altogether.

The Soviets want to slow down the technological contest because they would lose it. If Leonid Brezhnev dies having guaranteed some sort of "parity" with U.S. technology, he will go down in history—he will *deserve* to so go down—as one of the greatest Russians and greatest Communists of all time. The sluggish, centralized Soviet system cannot hope to match the U.S. technological capability. The true meaning of SALT is the neutralization of that capability. With the characteristic American strength neutralized, the Soviets can proceed with the political warfare in which a closed society has a tactical advantage.

The U.S. position should be that we will produce "what we need," and that no treaties are desired. SALT II should be thrown out. Carter may "need" it, but the nation needs neither it nor him.

Baghdad Riposte

In their Baghdad meeting, the Arab states (minus Egypt) lived up to their reputation for hair's-breadth drama. In Act I, Yasir Arafat gave his customary pyrotechnical performance supported by the usual rejectionist chorus. In Act II, the conservatives, led by Saudi Arabia, strongly resisted the extreme proposals for a complete boycott of Egypt and reprisals against the U.S. For a time it appeared the conference might break up in the disunity that often characterizes Arab League activity behind the banner of Arab unity. Then, in Act III, a compromise was struck in which the conservatives appear to have accepted half the PLO's demands, and agreed to cut off Egypt economically.

With characteristic panache, Sadat had defused the initial psychological rebuff by suspending participation in the League, recalling ambassadors from seven Arab states, and proclaiming his confidence in the rightness of his course. He seems to have overwhelming popular support in Egypt. In a two-hour speech to the People's Assembly two days after Begin's departure from Cairo he artfully divided and humiliated his rejectionist rivals Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and "the lunatic" Qaddafi. As for the longer run, the restrictions on trade are not devastating, as Egypt's trade with many of the Arab states is not great, but the loss of the Saudi subsidy of over $1 billion annually will hurt. Still, it may be partly compensated by a spurt of the Egyptian economy, springing from other sources. Moreover, the Saudis have agreed to fund Sadat's purchase of F-5s, since that deal pre-dated the Baghdad meeting and is linked to Saudi purchases of F-15s.

In Arab politics, the long run tends to be merely a rapid succession of short runs, and, disappointing though the resolutions were, they may be gradually replaced by a more favorable short-run de facto arrangement—particularly if next month's talks on West Bank autonomy appear to be promising. Failing rapid progress on the West Bank, an alternative would be separate progress on the Gaza Strip. In his speech, Sadat asked: "What's better? Autonomy or words? Demonstrations or Israeli withdrawals? Slogans or liberation of prisoners?" Despite Baghdad, Sadat is still the man of the hour.

1984 minus Four

In the looming British election, an enormous opportunity opens . . . for England, and, to echo Burke, for more than England. At present, in the West generally, there is a sense of stasis, but also of impending change for better or worse, and change of a radical character. Joseph Conrad sensed a comparable moment as the nineteenth century drew to a close, a sense registered in the opening sentences of *Heart of Darkness*:

"The *Nellie*, a cruising yawl, swung to her anchor without a flutter of the sails, and was at rest. The flood had made, the wind was nearly calm, and being bound down the river, the only thing for it was to come to and wait for the turn of the tide."

Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative opposi-

On Safari

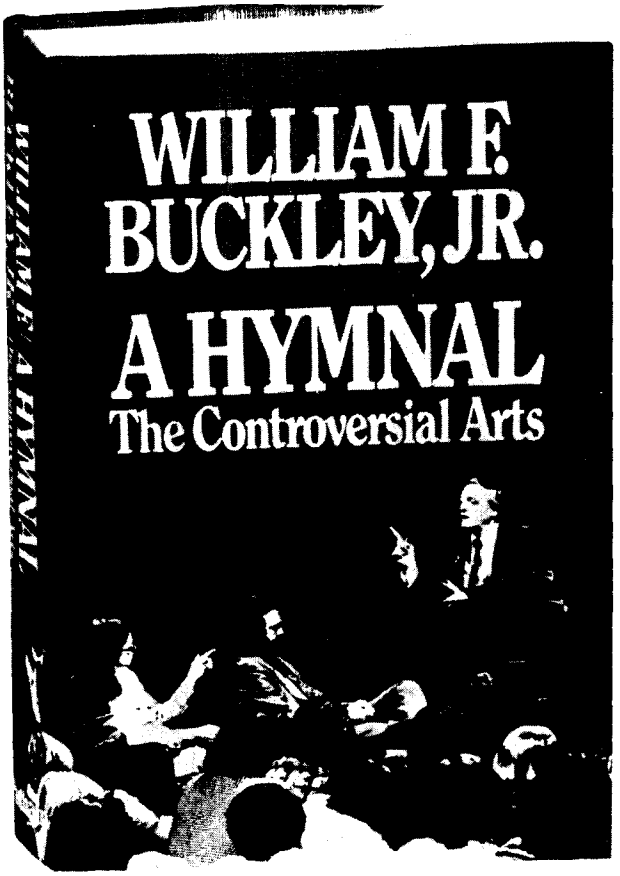
Jerry Brown, who's a fellow with push,
Left with Linda last week with a *whoosh*.
But if polls cast a pall
While he's having a ball,
You can bet she'll get dumped in the bush.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you don't already have this sparkling new book - GET IT NOW.

We simply won't be able to offer it again at this very low combination rate



A book like "A Hymnal: The Controversial Arts" doesn't appear very often. It's something special, a top-drawer collection of many of Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s best writings (the first of its kind in more than three years). There's no better book around to enliven your own conversation, or arguments, or for just plain enjoyment.

"A Hymnal" is filled with items that will tickle your fancy and also satisfy your curiosity. What *did* happen when Edgar Smith turned up in the headlines again? What about "God and Man at Yale" twenty-five years later? The three martini lunch? Abortion? Feminism? Gun control? You get Buckley's unique view of all this and much, much more (well over 100 articles and essays) in this big book of almost 500 pages. It's a feast for the discerning reader.

Now, this original-edition hardcover book sells for $12.95, and to make it easier for you to get *your* copy we've put together a *very* special combination offer based on a low-cost 18 issue (9 months) subscription, either new or renewal.

The current subscription rate for 9 months of NR is $13.50 ($18 newsstand), and the book retails for $12.95—at the very least a $26.45 combination value. But with this special offer you get the book, plus 9 more months of *National Review* (either as a new subscription or by extending your present subscription), for a total of just $19.95. You save a full $6.50 and we pay all postage and handling charges (*plenty* on a big book like this one!).

So take advantage of this unusual opportunity while you can. The handy card opposite this page contains complete instructions on how to order. "A Hymnal" is *the* new book you won't want to miss. Order your copy today. It's the last time we'll be able to offer it at this special combination rate.

Remember! you save a full $6.50 with this offer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, began her campaign with a lead in the double digits.

For potential significance, consider, for example, Rhodesia. In her recent statements Mrs. Thatcher appears to favor an end of sanctions following the successful completion of the impending Rhodesian elections. U.S. policy on Rhodesia has been largely derivative of British policy. If a Thatcher government decides that Rhodesia no longer belongs in an outlaw category, that could tip the balance overwhelmingly in Congress. Added dividend: the British Andy Young, Foreign Secretary David Owen, would make his overdue exit.

England pioneered industrial capitalism, enacted the welfare state, and now has the opportunity to lead the way into the post-socialist era. So far as polls can determine, Mrs. Thatcher's emphasis on productivity and investment has public opinion solidly behind it, even among Labor voters. If she comes to power, her counter-revolution need not, should not, be peremptory. Legislation requiring unions to obey contracts might be a first step. Legislation imposing penalties for secondary boycotts might be another. Mrs. Thatcher, coming to power, would enjoy the economic "cushion" of North Sea oil revenues, and a temporary era of good feeling.

No one who has met Margaret Thatcher doubts that she has the brains and the will to do what needs to be done. Beneath her beauty and charm there lives a very well informed will of steel.

When an editor of NATIONAL REVIEW talked with her last fall in her Westminster office, he listened to a terse and tough account of the British role in the event of a Soviet attack on Western Europe. When she had stated the British role, she paused. "We cannot do more than that," she said, "but we can do that."

The "only thing for it was to come to and wait for the turn of the tide." The tide is beginning to turn.

Où Sont les Neiges d'Antan?

Mao tse-Tung, according to the left-wing campfire stories of the Sixties, modernized China. "Abolished feudalism and poverty . . . carried China into the twentieth century . . ." *et cetera*, snore. Now along comes Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt of the Center for Population Studies at Harvard with a three-part series on China in *The New York Review of Books*, and it turns that Mao's children aren't so well off after all.

Herewith some of Dr. Eberstadt's conclusions, summarized by the *New York Times*: "Malnutrition, overpopulation, and poverty may be more serious problems for China than Western visitors have been led to believe. . . . China leads the world in the importing of grain and is among the poorest of countries. . . . Dr. Eberstadt said this did not necessarily imply that 150 million to 170 million Chinese were close to starving. But he said Peking certainly could not be comfortable about the nutrition of its people, who must live much closer to the danger of famine than was widely supposed."

Widely supposed? "Dr. Eberstadt said that 'even the cleverest and most intuitive analysts could not be expected to report back on living conditions and poverty in Europe after a three-week vacation in Switzerland this, however, is more or less what we ask of our Chinese hands.' Visitors have probably been allowed to see only those aspects of Chinese society that the authorities felt would enhance their image."

"China's conciliatory attitude toward the West," the *Times* concludes, "could in part be the result of anxiety in Peking about its economic problems."

That's not the kind of thing, of course, that all-the-news-that's-fit-to-print was telling us eight years ago. "I was struck," wrote James Reston in 1971, "by the tremendous efforts to bring out what is best in men, what makes them good, what makes them cooperate with one another and be considerate and not beastly to one another. They [the Chinese] are trying that."

Not hard enough, it seems.

Tablet-Keeping, Historical Division

Remember Annie Lee Moss? CBS's *60 Minutes* does and ran a 25-year-old tape of Mrs. Moss's interrogation before the (evil) Senate Government Operations Committee in 1954. There again sits Mrs. Moss, plucked by the McCarthyites from the obscurity of her Pentagon job, accused of being a Communist. Sadly, stolidly, she denies it: denies subscribing to the *Daily Worker*, denies ever having talked to a Communist, much less having been one. Perhaps there is some mistake—there *are* three Annie Lee Mosses in the phone book. "It was," Dan Rather explains obligingly, "perhaps the most frightened period in American history."

Garland, *London Sunday Telegraph* Rothco

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What *60 Minutes* does not remember is the judgment of the Subversive Activities Control Board four years later that the Moss in question was indeed the Communist one. "The [Communist] Party's own records, copies of which are now in evidence, and the authenticity of which it does not dispute, . . . show that an Annie Lee Moss, 72 R Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. was a Party member in the mid-1940s." ("Isn't it a fact," counsel had asked Mrs. Moss in the televised hearings, "that you regularly received the *Daily Worker*?" "No," replied Mrs. Moss, not "until after we had moved Southwest, at 72 R Street.") Bold investigative journalists may find the entire matter covered in NATIONAL REVIEW (November 22, 1958; December 20, 1958; February 14, 1959). Back to *Laverne and Shirley*.

Help Wanted

Somebody, over 35,
A U.S. citizen with drive
Who understands the Russian mind,
Is thick of skin and fat, behind.
A grasp of history's a must;
Should radiate both hope and trust,
Be masterful—and yet suggest
A heart of gold beneath his breast.
The job includes a house, some cars,
A jet, access to famous stars,
Salutes, and roses every June.
A vacancy's occurring soon.

W. H. VON DREELE

Hate Pakistan

The prize for the most grievous self-inflicted wound of the year goes to the recently announced cessation of American economic and military aid to Pakistan on the ground that that country is secretly building a uranium enrichment plant capable of producing weapons-grade uranium. The perversity of this action at this particular time is almost beyond comprehension. At a time when a) Iran is in upheaval without an army meriting the name, b) our electronic monitoring stations in Iran are closed, c) Turkey is in deep economic and social difficulty and our monitoring stations there are old and not fully operational, d) guerrilla warfare is mounting against the pro-Communist regime of Afghanistan on Pakistan's border, and finally e) in the midst of domestic violence in Pakistan a few days after the execution of the controversial Zulfikar Ali Bhutto—at such a time, the U.S. cuts off aid to Pakistan for doing no more than India did a few years ago. It boggles the mind, which is not the organ in Washington that appears to have issued the directive.

Pakistan, like the rest of the Northern Tier, is being shaken to its roots. The conflict of which Bhutto and President Zia ul-Haq are symbols reflects the international fractionalization of Pakistan that has frustrated the development there of such cohesion as exists in India. President Zia, deeply loyal and religious, proud of the military tradition, disgusted with the corruption of the past, but politically naïve and inclined to extreme rigidity of thought and action, is in charge whether he likes it or not. In the search for an instrument with which to integrate the country he turned to Islam, which is a two-edged sword itself—as is evident today in Iran. Pakistan now faces a prolonged period of political instability leading up to planned elections in November. The outcome is as uncertain as Zia's own future.

Meanwhile, to the northwest, Pakistan faces a pro-Communist, Soviet-dominated regime in Afghanistan where rising guerrilla revolts are increasing. If the level of rebellion in Afghanistan continues to rise, it could pose a challenge to the Soviets to intervene directly to save the regime, now led by a hard-line pro-Communist, Hafizullah Amin. Prime Minister Amin has proclaimed, "The USSR will protect the Afghan revolution." Meanwhile, Iran next door puts on a skyrocketing display of instability. In the west and north, Kurdish and Turkoman revolts have subsided momentarily in the face of a "show of force" by a couple of the few functioning battalions in an army which could not field a single well-disciplined division today. Nor will the army be reconstituted until the terror has relaxed sufficiently to allow men to risk putting on a uniform.

Finally, in Turkey, which Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd calls "the buckle on the belt of instability," there has been some recovery since Congress finally relaxed the embargo it imposed in 1975. But with a $12-billion foreign debt, massive annual deficits, 50 per cent inflation, and the second largest armed force in NATO, the Turks desperately need the U.S. and NATO to help them out of the morass they've slipped into.

And so, back to Pakistan. Why did the Administration decide to punish Pakistan at this moment for allegedly working toward a uranium enrichment plan which could not have resulted in a bomb for about seven years? Because, in 1977, Congress passed a law requiring that it be done unless in special circumstances the President made a formal finding to the contrary. For months the Administration quietly sought congressional relaxation. Finally, the Administration concluded it had to apply the law, although it might have taken advantage of the loophole given to it by Congress—and even though we did not apply the same medicine to India several years ago.

Pakistan and Turkey—two dramatic cases to prove the unwisdom of legislating foreign policy. Having been taught by the liberals for many years not to use our power to try to force our left-wing rivals and enemies to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conform to our standards, we have now swung to the opposite extreme of trying to use our power to punish our friends and force them to do our bidding. It failed in the case of Turkey. It will no doubt fail in Pakistan, and in the meantime we find both nations indisposed or unable to cooperate in what is clearly in our interest as much as theirs—strengthening the Northern Tier which insulates southwest Asia, Israel, and Egypt against direct Soviet intervention of the kind that threatens in Afghanistan and possibly Iran.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

I wanted to let you know of an incident which happened to me over my Christmas vacation. I was skiing in beautiful Vail, Colorado with a group of friends and on this particular day the slopes were fairly crowded, which meant waiting in the lift lines at the bottom of each hill. As my girlfriend, Lisa Sirois, and I were getting ready to get on the lift, a group of skiers led by a member of the ski patrol approached us. The ski patrol fellow asked if he could take his party of ten in front of us. After waiting for thirty minutes, we would have been reluctant to let even you break in front, but one doesn't say no to the ski patrol. As his group was passing by, a very large gentleman dressed in a blue ski outfit looked at us and said, "Thank you very much. How are you today?" He had a warm smile and we were impressed by this skier's friendly nature.

Suddenly it hit us that this gentleman was none other than Jerry Ford. I almost fell over in the lift line, for I have never met a national politician, let alone a Republican. Maybe someday I'll be lucky enough to see you on skis. But then, of course, maybe Carter will balance the budget.

Sincerely yours,
Jonathan C. West
Davidson College
Davidson, N.C.

Dear Jonathan: And maybe someday soon, Mr. Carter will have time to take up skiing. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Sir:

I was genuinely surprised to learn that there are indeed words in the English language which you have never utilized, and with whose definitions you are unfamiliar. Even more surprising was your inability to deduce the definitions from your list of Mr. Updike's esoterica.

As a case in point, the very first word in the list should have posed little problem for a man of your indisputable talents. Obviously, "harmattan" is "the act of undermining prior efforts at achieving a bronzed appearance of the skin . . ."; most applicable to those venturing south for the holidays, and who experience the disappointment of peeling. Similarly, "suras" is the verb "to be certain relative to another frame of reference . . ."; as in ∽ hell, or ∽ s---. Also, what could a "pestle" be, but "a handgun for dispatching small, unwanted annoyances"? An "eversion" is "an intense dislike which continues indefinitely . . ."; and a "riverine" is, of course, "that section of a flowing body of water utilized as a privy." Finally, my mother informs me that "haptic" describes "the situation of being frantically busy, while maintaining good spirits"; especially applicable to the Christmas Season, which I hope was a happy one for you and your family.

Warmest regards,
Earl P. Holt III
St. Louis, Mo.

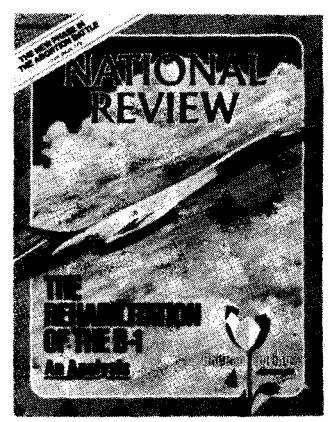
Ho ho ho Holt. (Beautiful.) WFB

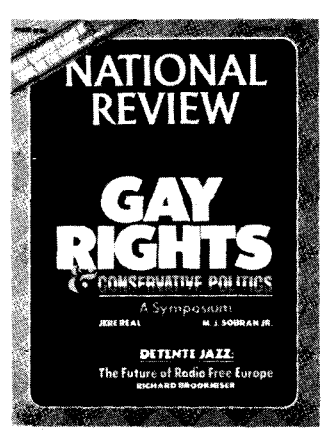
■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

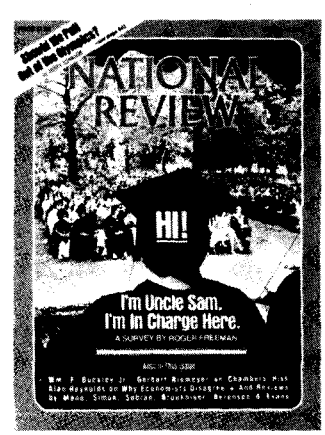
The following covers of *NR* received awards in the "1978 DESI" awards show:

March 3, 1978
March 17, 1978
August 4, 1978

The show is sponsored by "Graphics: USA & Graphics: NY."







Congratulations to Art Director James W. O'Bryan—and to photographer Jan Lukas. —**WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Korean Reminders

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

IT IS SALUTARY to travel to a "flashpoint" every now and then —especially to one that reminds the visitor that the Third World War is indeed protracted. Back in London from Seoul and Panmunjom, I offer some reflections on the cruel fate of the Korean people.

The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) is conceivably the most water-tight ideological boundary in the world; which makes North Korea probably the most hermetically sealed, as well as one of the nastiest, of the totalist regimes created by Soviet power.

The "North-South Dialogue" was resumed lately, enabling a tightly controlled North Korean group to see the bustling capital of the Republic of Korea (ROK). When a senior member of the Northern delegation sourly remarked that the Southern authorities had evidently rounded up all the cars in South Korea and set them loose in Seoul to give a false impression of affluence, a member of the Southern delegation had the wit to retort: "Of course, but that was quite easy. We also built all these skyscrapers overnight, and that was more difficult."

Dead Imperialists

The Communist authorities in Kim Il Sung's republic trust their people so little that all radios are pre-set to receive only Pyongyang's output. Children are taught to thank the "genius of the revolution" Kim Il Sung for the food they eat each day—a kind of atheistic grace-substitute. Their arithmetic lessons start with easily understood propositions, such as that if two Korean patriots kill two American imperialists apiece, they will have killed, between them, four American imperialists. Dialogue is not, in these circumstances, easy.

The South Korean economic miracle —by now well documented—is actually even more miraculous than the others, since South Korea—unlike, say, Germany or Japan—had no industry or industrial tradition to start with. I find myself more interested, however, in President Park Chung Hee's successful, and rather original, political system, without which the economic miracle would never have got off the ground.

The ROK's experience of party democracy, whether American-style (1948-60) or British-style (1960-61), was chaotically chastening, and it took the "revitalizing reforms" (Yushin) and the new Constitution of 1972 to provide political stability. As with General de Gaulle in the Mark-I version of the French Fifth Republic, President Park is elected indirectly, by an electoral college, which is elected by universal suffrage. Having elected the president, this body considers his list of appointed members to the National Assembly.

The assemblymen thus chosen constitute one-third of the legislators and enjoy a three-year term, compared with six years for the elected members. The latter are elected under an ingenious variant of the Westminster system: instead of Britain's "winner-take-all," the top two candidates both enter the Assembly; minor parties are thus kept out of the legislature. The ruling camp's Democratic Republican Party has a built-in majority, through the appointed members. By the same token, the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) seems fated to permanent frustration and irresponsibility; although there is nothing to stop the president, should he feel like relieving this frustration, from choosing an NDP government.

Enough of the outward forms. The point is that this modified version of democracy has given South Korea not merely a better government than the country has ever known, but a good government in absolute terms—a better government, for instance than any of the major democracies has, in that the citizens enjoy a low crime rate, a vigilant defense system, and a rising level of real earnings (in the face of inflation that is likely to exceed 15 per cent this year with the boost in Middle East oil prices).

Moreover, South Koreans may change their jobs freely, marry whom they choose, bring up their own children, buy a house and consumer durables, and join or not join a union or professional association (in which respect, they are better off than British workers). None of these freedoms is available in the North. Against this, the workers are not allowed to strike (O lucky Korean people!); the Communist party is banned (O twice lucky Korean people!!); and a few dozen "dissidents" (not fewer than seventy nor more than two hundred, according to the pundits), all under specific security charges, are deprived of their liberty, but neither tortured nor otherwise ill-treated. Not bad, for a divided people under constant threat of invasion.

Yanqui Stay Put

I have recorded all these details, because I should like even middle-class liberals with a guilt complex to feel they can relax and safely support those who are urging President Carter to halt his threatened withdrawal of U.S. ground forces. Even in the human rights league, the ROK stands high; and in the good government league, among the highest.

Right now, our South Korean friends are understandably worried by Jimmy Carter's foreign policy. They accept American reassurances that the Mutual Defense Treaty still stands (they could hardly do otherwise), but would feel safer if the President publicly changed his mind about withdrawing troops.

Another thing that worries them is America's recognition of Peking, because of the possible consequences, among which they include a paralysis of the U.S. should Kim Il Sung attempt a renewed invasion. What else? Will the Americans (and the Japanese) now feel that logic requires them to recognize Pyongyang as well? (If so, say the South Koreans, they should insist that Russia and China recognize the ROK, on the pattern of divided Germany.) And a bigger specter still looms on the horizon: an invasion from the North that would provoke a Sino-Soviet rapprochement.

Such dire scenarios will not necessarily happen. The best way of preventing the worst is to reaffirm the permanency of the U.S. ground presence and defense commitment. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of the biggest gold strikes since Sutter's Mill.

The yield: 3,000 pounds of pure gold.

But it didn't come from a mine. It came from a Western Electric factory.

A new kind of Midas Touch

That's where Western Electric's new process for plating gold is *conserving* the precious metal, through increased efficiency and precision. It's producing better switching components for the Bell System, to make your phone service clearer and more reliable than ever.

It must be gold that's plated to the switching components you see glittering in the photograph, because no other metal can provide the same kind of efficient, reliable, durable, and clear telephone transmission.

But until now, gold-plating had always been a messy and imprecise process. There had been no way to control it accurately. No way to avoid depositing excess gold on the places it was intended to go. And on the places it wasn't.

So Western Electric, working with Bell Labs, designed a totally new system to do the job. Combining the best of electro-chemical and programmed logic control technologies, the new system can plate gold with hair-thin precision. Depositing only the desired amount, only on the designated spot. With no waste whatsoever.

Gilt-edged savings

Besides producing a much better product, Western Electric has mined a savings of $9 million from the process. And that's another way we're helping your Bell Telephone Company hold down the cost of your phone service.

Even bigger benefits

And since the new process uses 55% less gold than the old one, we could more than double production of our improved switching component. Without consuming any more of the shiny natural resource.

But there are more environmental plusses. The new process has almost completely eliminated the gaseous wastes plating used to produce. It's cut the liquid wastes by 90%. And it runs on 67% less power.

This improved gold-plating technique is another way Western Electric is working to hold down the cost, while continually raising the quality of your phone service.

Keeping your communications system the best in the world.

Western Electric

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM CHICAGO

Snow Job: The Politics of Anger

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

GOD IS MAD at Chicago.

A couple of days ago, the wind began to howl out of the Northeast. Fifty miles an hour it roared down Michigan Avenue, with unofficial readings of seventy. Chunks of the Water Tower complex smashed to the sidewalk. One man was killed when a wall of a building collapsed, another when his car was blown off the highway. Garbage cans, glass, and chunks of unidentifiable debris flew through the streets, and an elderly woman was blown along Michigan like a tumbleweed in a tornado.

Just another sign that God is mad. And if you don't believe it, ask Michael Bilandic, Chicago's erstwhile mayor.

It was, to put it mildly, one hell of a winter. There were 24 days of sub-zero temperatures. January 15, at 19 below, tied the record for the coldest day here of the century. Ten straight days of sub-zero weather in January set another record. Through it all, the wind howled. It always howls in Chicago, perhaps the only city in the country where the wind can howl, it can rain, and the fog can set in simultaneously. And then there was the snow.

It began falling in earnest in January and continued well into February. And even now, in April, there are still periodic snow showers. When it was all over, there were 89.4 inches—more than in Anchorage. And for a month, the city was unable to clean it up.

January was nearly indescribable. I returned from a trip after the first blizzard, having been trapped in an airport in Cedar Rapids for several days because O'Hare had closed down for only the sixth time in its history. The airport bus couldn't make it to Michigan Avenue because cars trapped in drifts blocked the side streets. The driver finally let us out near Rush Street, normally one of the busiest in the city. We trudged down the one narrow lane open in the middle of Rush. A woman left a store with a bag of groceries and tried to climb over a drift into the lane. She lost her footing and fell and the groceries went flying. She lay there in the drift sobbing as several of us scrambled around, trying to retrieve the groceries. She may have been a voter.

It went that way for the rest of the month. Another woman fell in the street. Two men stopped their car, threw her in, and raped her. A snowplow operator went berserk and started decapitating cars. In the process he also decapitated a driver. When he was taken into custody, he sobbingly told the police that he wanted to spend more time with his children.

A more mundane scene, witnessed while slogging down the snow-clogged sidewalk along Michigan to work: the wind, of course, was howling, and a rather frail woman just couldn't keep her footing and fight the wind at the same time. Naturally, she was sobbing—she may have been a voter.

Meanwhile, nearly every night on television, there was Mayor Bilandic, congratulating himself and his snow removal crews

I gave her my arm, she grabbed, and I towed her along. We stopped for a red light at Ohio Street and watched two cars glide through the intersection. The first car stopped and a man climbed out, opened a back door, and dug out his attaché case as his wife slid over into the driver's seat. The driver behind him began to blow his horn furiously. Everyone in Chicago was blowing his horn furiously in January. Many of them were voters.

The man with the attaché case walked around to the back of his car as his wife sped off and just stood there, glaring at the horn blower. "Blow that goddam horn again," he began to shout, over and over. The horn blower obliged, and inched forward until his bumper nudged the shouter's legs. The shouter began to scream at the top of his lungs and smash his attaché case on the horn-blower's hood.

The shouter was a very ordinary-looking well-dressed businessman who had probably never done anything like that in his life. But people were getting mad. And many of them were voters.

People in the city were mad about the slowness of the snow removal. Weeks went by in many neighborhoods without even a distant sighting of a plow. Housewives were trapped with their children 24 hours a day because they couldn't get them to their schools on the infrequent days they were open, and the media began a barrage of messages warning against child abuse and cautioning against the excessive use of alcohol. People were mad that their garbage was piling up. And perhaps maddest of all were the people in the black communities in the South and West Sides, whose votes had routinely come to be taken for granted by the Democratic machine. Many of their neighborhoods weren't touched until February, while each night on television they were treated to the sight of neatly cleaned blocks around the homes of city officials. Then came the clincher. The Transit Authority, which couldn't repair its cars as fast as they broke down, decided to alter elevated train service: the trains began to bypass the black areas in order to serve white areas better, and black commuters found themselves huddling on platforms in sub-zero temperatures as train after train whizzed by, with white faces peering out at them. Chicago is 40 per cent black. And many Chicago blacks are voters.

Meanwhile, nearly every night on television, there was Mayor Bilandic, congratulating himself and his snow re-

Mr. Coyne survived winter in Chicago. His lesser accomplishments include a new book, Fall In and Cheer, *which recounts his experiences working for Spiro Agnew, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moval crews for the fine job they were doing. He devised a system for clearing neighborhood streets: people would drive their cars to 103 designated parking areas so the crews could come through. People drove to those areas and found them unplowed. They got mad.

When it was evident that things weren't going well after all, Bilandic began to speak mysteriously of a secret plan for snow removal. At first he refused to share it, but after incessant badgering by the press, he finally let us see it. It turned out to be a 23-page document, hastily cribbed from other sources: the city had paid a crony $90,000 for it. There was a meeting, called by independent city councilmen to censure the administration, which the machine politicians turned into a clownish ceremony of commendation, with Bilandic compared to Hercules, among others. The mayor and his cronies joked and wisecracked about the whole situation. But Chicagoans watching the evening newscasts were not amused.

Bilandic's finest moment, however, came late in the campaign, when it had finally begun to sink in that he might be in trouble.

"It's our turn," he told a gathering of the party faithful, "to be in the trenches to see if we are made of the same stuff as the early Christians, the persecuted Jews, the proud Poles, the blacks and Latinos."

He also threw in the troubles in Cambodia and the uprising in Iran for good measure. But unfortunately his voice cracked into a falsetto in the middle of it all, his eloquence went largely unappreciated, and some of those assembled began to giggle. No members of the party faithful would ever have dared giggle at Mayor Daley.

Through February, the weather remained generally filthy, with more snow and so little sun as to make even the cheeriest proponent of solar energy gloomy. ("How in the *hell*," snarled one angry commuter, "would those solar panels work with four feet of snow on the roof?")

There was one sunny day in February, however, and despite its problems, Chicago is a strikingly beautiful city when the sun shines on it. It was an exhilarating day, and women crowded Michigan Avenue, smiling at everyone in sight, their coats open to show the world the clothes they had been forced to hide all winter. (Chicago women, incidentally, just may be the dressiest in the United States, with as many clothing stores to choose from along Michigan Avenue as there are in the whole Soviet Union.)

It was a gorgeous day. But unfortunately for Michael Bilandic it was also election day. And, despite their smiles, they hadn't forgotten. They were still mad, and they went to the polls in droves, 800,000 of them.

During the last week, the polls had shown Jane Byrne, who hadn't a prayer in November, pulling ahead. Thus, the hope among the machine regulars was for a day sufficiently inclement to keep people away from the polls. With a patronage army of 25,000 expected, according to the conventional wisdom, to turn out in force, plus the ability of the precinct captains to steal a significant number of votes, the betting was that Bilandic would pull it off. "It's going to be a precinct captain's election," said one politician.

And steal the votes they did. There were more complaints of fraud and irregularities on February 27 than during any recent election. But electoral larceny wasn't enough. When Bilandic finally desperately needed a blizzard, God sent the sunshine, and Jane Byrne, a five-foot-two, eyes-of-blue, 106-pound blonde, became the nominee of the Democrats for mayor of Carl Sandburg's "city of the big shoulders."

You can tax, you can spend, you can steal, you can lie. But you must deliver what the voters believe they're paying for

After that it was a cakewalk. The Republicans, assuming that Bilandic had things sewn up, nominated a throwaway candidate who mounted what could most kindly be called a subliminal campaign, and on April 3, Mrs. Byrne won an 82 per cent mandate, bigger than any percentage registered by her mentor, Mayor Daley.

What does it all mean? There is a great deal of discussion just now about how Jane Byrne has dealt a death-blow to the last of the functioning big-city machines. But that may not be the case at all. The machine was on the verge of committing suicide. What Mrs. Byrne may have done is to pull it back from the brink and to breathe new life into it. She beat her Republican opponent with full machine support, and she has been busy mending fences ever since bumping off Bilandic. And she herself, as everyone in the nation now knows, was a product of the machine, one of Mayor Daley's protégés.

Nor was there any widespread anger among Chicagoans at the machine itself. Rather, they were angry at the way it was being run. There is little doubt that Chicago politics would not gladden the heart of sincere civics teachers. But most Chicagoans don't mind that—in fact, they seem to take a certain peculiar pride in their somewhat gamy political reputation.

And perhaps that's as it should be. If you begin with the commonsensical premise that all politicians are crooks and always will be, then why not just let them play their little games? Let them play their games, that is, as long as they deliver the services they owe you. If they don't, however, and if they get arrogant and aloof, as they did in Chicago, you begin to get mad. And when enough voters get mad enough, politicians lose their jobs.

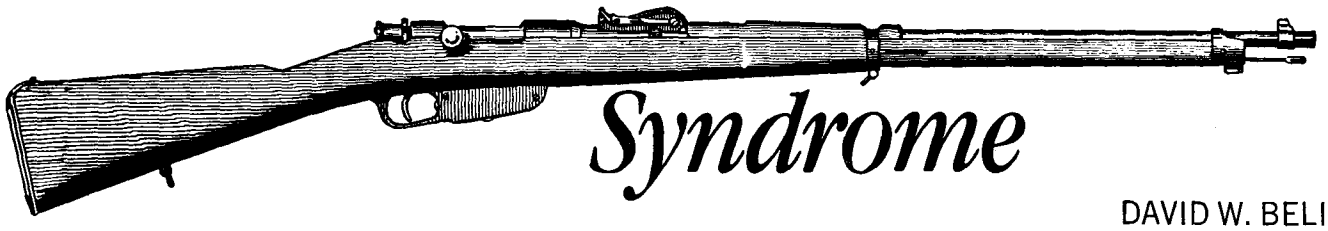
Thus, it would probably be a mistake to see the Byrne vote as an anti-machine vote. Rather, it was vote born of anger, and if there is any national message in the Bilandic vote it is this: incumbents beware. You can tax, you can spend, you can steal, you can lie. But you must deliver what the voters believe they're paying for. People across the country are growing increasingly angry at pouring their money into a system that seems to provide little or nothing in return. Couple that with the growing bloc-voting of angry single-issue constituencies and the decline in voting among people without a cause, and you end with no one but angry voters marching to the polls to throw the current crop of rascals out.

God may have been sufficiently mad at Chicago to send the snow. But the snow sent a legion of angry voters to the polls. They now know just how much an angry vote can do, and in Chicago and the rest of the nation, the decade of the Eighties may be the decade of the politics of anger. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

The Second-Gunman Syndrome



DAVID W. BELIN

ON FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1978, the House Select Committee on Assassinations published its "Summary of Findings and Recommendations." The orchestration was perfect. The release was embargoed "until 12:00 midnight, Saturday, December 30, 1978 or for publication in A.M. editions of newspapers dated Sunday, December 31, 1978."

The Committee wanted to make sure every Sunday morning paper in the United States carried a front-page story on the dramatic conclusion it had reached: There was an unseen second gunman standing in an area known as the grassy knoll who, according to the Committee, fired a single shot at President Kennedy. Although the shot was from close range, it missed President Kennedy; it missed Governor Connally and everyone else in the presidential limousine; it even missed the limousine. Nevertheless, a second gunman automatically meant that there was a conspiracy in the assassination of President Kennedy.

To be sure, the Committee was forced to conclude, as did the Warren Commission, that it was Lee Harvey Oswald who fired the shots that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connally. This was confirmed in the first section of the findings of the House Select Committee on Assassinations:

> I. Findings of the Select Committee on Assassinations in the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas, Texas, November 22, 1963.
>
> A. Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots at President John F. Kennedy. The second and third shots he fired struck the President. The third shot he fired killed the President.
>
> 1. President Kennedy was struck by two rifle shots fired from behind him.
> 2. The shots that struck President Kennedy from behind were fired from the sixth-floor window of the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository Building.
> 3. Lee Harvey Oswald owned the rifle that was used to fire the shots from the sixth-floor window of the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository Building.
> 4. Lee Harvey Oswald, shortly before the assassination, had access to and was present on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building.
> 5. Lee Harvey Oswald's other actions tend to support the conclusion that he assassinated President Kennedy.

But then the Committee went on to state, in the next division of its summary:

> B. Scientific acoustical evidence establishes a high probability that two gunmen fired at President John F. Kennedy. . . .

When I first read the newspaper reports of the conclusions of the Select Committee, I was shocked at how readily the Committee had swallowed, hook, line, and sinker, the erroneous testimony of the so-called acoustical experts. They initially claimed there was a 50 per cent possibility that a second gunman fired at President Kennedy. Later, this was changed to a 95 per cent possibility. But regardless of whether they say it was a 50 per cent possibility or a 95 per cent possibility, the truth is to the contrary. There was no second gunman.

THE ONLY gunman seen at the time of the assassination was the gunman whom witnesses saw fire from an upper-story window of the Texas School Book Depository (TSBD) Building. When the police went inside to search the building and came to that window, which was located on the southeast corner of the sixth floor, they found three cartridge cases. As the police continued their search in the TSBD Building, they found a rifle, stuck between cartons of books near the back stairway on the sixth floor. Irrefutable ballistic evidence proved that the cartridge cases found by the assassination window came from that rifle, to the exclusion of all other weapons in the world.

Similarly, inside the presidential limousine there were two ballistically identifiable fragments of the bullet that struck President Kennedy's head. These bullet fragments came from that rifle. At Parkland Memorial Hospital there was a nearly whole bullet that dropped off Governor Connally's stretcher. This bullet came from that rifle.

Who owned the rifle? Lee Harvey Oswald. It was relatively easy to trace the ownership of the rifle through the serial number. The Warren Commission obtained copies of the

Mr. Belin, a senior partner in the Des Moines, Iowa law firm of Belin, Harris, Helmick & Lovrien, was counsel to the Warren Commission and was executive director of the Rockefeller Commission reporting on CIA activities within the United States.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order blank used to purchase the rifle through the mail. It was in Oswald's writing. We had copies of the postal money order used to pay for the rifle. This was in Oswald's writing. The rifle was shipped to Oswald's post office box.

There was another weapon shipped to that same post office box. This was the pistol used in the murder of Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit, which occurred approximately 45 minutes after the assassination of President Kennedy. I have called the Tippit murder the "Rosetta Stone to the solution of President Kennedy's murder."

A Dallas citizen, Johnny Calvin Brewer who worked in a shoestore near the scene of the Tippit murder, was the key witness in the apprehension of Oswald. He heard about the murder on the radio, then heard police sirens coming down the street and saw a suspicious-looking person duck into his store-front area and stay there until the police sirens ebbed. Then the person, who turned out to be Oswald, left the shoestore and sneaked into the Texas Theater, a few doors away. Brewer followed Oswald into the theater and had the cashier call the police.

When the police arrived, the house lights were turned on, and Brewer pointed out Oswald. As policemen approached, Oswald pulled out a revolver. Carrying a concealed gun is a crime. The fact that Oswald had such a weapon on his person and drew it in those circumstances is, in itself, highly suspicious.

Irrefutable scientific evidence proved that this revolver, to the exclusion of all other weapons in the world, was the weapon that discharged the cartridge cases that witnesses saw the murderer of Officer Tippit toss away as he left the scene of the murder. In addition there were six eyewitnesses who saw Oswald either at the Tippit murder scene or running away from it, gun in hand, and who conclusively identified Oswald as the gunman.

The combination of Oswald's actions at Brewer's shoestore and in the theater, coupled with the scientific ballistics testimony linking this gun with the murder of Tippit, coupled with the positive identification by six independent eyewitnesses, makes the solution to the Tippit murder an open-and-shut case. There can be no doubt that Lee Harvey Oswald killed Officer Tippit.

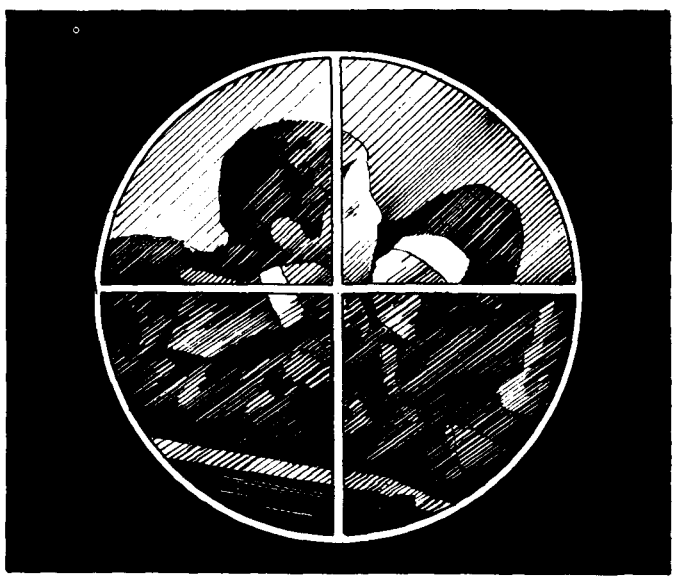
After Oswald was apprehended at the Texas Theater, he was taken to the Dallas police station and interrogated. Of the School Book Depository employees who were inside the building at the time of the assassination, Oswald was the only one who fled the building after the assassination.

During the course of his interrogation, Oswald claimed that he did not own the rifle found on the sixth floor of the TSBD Building. As a matter of fact, he claimed he did not own any rifle at all. The Warren Commission, in searching Oswald's possessions in a garage in the Dallas suburb of Irving, where Marina Oswald was staying with the Paine family, found a picture of Oswald with a pistol and a rifle and also found a negative of the picture, as well as Oswald's camera. When Oswald was confronted with the picture showing him holding a rifle, he claimed that it was not a genuine photo, but rather was a composite with his head on someone else's body.

OSWALD LIED, as he lied about other key matters in the course of his interrogation. When one has a photographic negative and a camera, it can be determined whether or not that particular negative came from that camera. Incontrovertible scientific evidence confirmed the fact that this picture of Oswald holding the rifle was taken with Oswald's camera, to the exclusion of all other cameras in the world. (Marina Oswald admitted in testimony before the Warren Commission that she took the picture.)

Meanwhile, no one saw a gunman firing from the grassy knoll area—although people were in a position to see the grassy knoll area at the time of the assassination. The area was searched and no cartridge cases were found. Finally, there was the overwhelming medical evidence that all the wounds to Governor Connally and President Kennedy came from bullets fired from behind—not from the right front, where the grassy knoll area was located. Governor Connally's physicians unanimously agreed. The physicians performing the autopsy on President Kennedy unanimously agreed.

Assassination sensationalists were not satisfied with these conclusions. As a result, in 1968 Attorney General Ramsey Clark appointed a panel of physicians to re-examine the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

autopsy photographs, X-rays of President Kennedy, various moving pictures and other pictures taken at the time of the assassination, and other evidence pertaining to the death of President Kennedy. This panel unanimously confirmed the findings of the Warren Commission that all the shots that struck President Kennedy came from behind.

Assassination sensationalists still were not satisfied, and at the time of the Rockefeller Commission's investigation they asserted that there were CIA agents conspiratorially involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. In support of this claim, these people asserted that a gunman had fired at President Kennedy from the front and that at least one shot struck Kennedy from the front. An independent panel of physicians selected by the Rockefeller Commission reviewed the evidence once again. They unanimously reached the same conclusion: All the shots that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connally came from behind.

The real import of the hasty adoption of the second-gunman theory is not just that the Committee was wrong. Rather, the crucial issue is why the Committee was so wrong

The first chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations—Congressman Henry Gonzalez—fell victim to the misrepresentations of assassination sensationalists, asserting, at the outset, that a second gunman had fired at President Kennedy. The House Select Committee obtained yet another set of experts to re-examine all the evidence. After months of investigation, the House Committee was forced to conclude that the Warren Commission was right: all the shots that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connally came from behind and were fired by Lee Harvey Oswald's rifle from the sixth-floor southeast-corner window of the TSBD Building.

In the face of this overwhelming array of evidence, one wonders why it was that at the very end of a multi-million-dollar investigation the House Select Committee suddenly adopted the testimony of purported acoustical experts to reach the erroneous conclusion that a second gunman had fired at President Kennedy.

Even if there were not overwhelming evidence to the contrary, common sense would question this testimony. It is based on the single assumption that there was a police motorcycle at Dealey Plaza whose microphone was stuck open and acted as a transmitter to the police radio tape at the Dallas police headquarters.

Now, if the microphone had in fact been stuck open, and if the motorcycle had in fact been located at Dealey Plaza—i.e., at the scene of the assassination—not only would the microphone have recorded the shots, but it would have recorded other loud noises as well. Immediately after the shots, the motorcade accelerated sharply, and police sirens started blaring as it sped toward Parkland Memorial Hospital. Yet, on the recorded tape there is no sudden sound of motorcycles revving up shortly after the so-called shots. There is no sudden sound of police sirens screeching as the motorcade started to race toward Parkland Memorial Hospital. According to Harold S. Sawyer, a member of the House Assassinations Committee, police sirens are not heard on the tape until approximately two minutes after the sounds which the acoustical experts claim are the shots. Furthermore, when the police sirens are heard, they appear to be approaching, cresting, and then receding.

Congressman Sawyer, who has filed a dissent to the Committee's "Summary of Findings and Recommendations," also points out that the tape (which is really a "Dictabelt") also contains the faint sound of chimes. No chimes have been found that were in use at or near the scene of the assassination on November 22, 1963. On the other hand, there was one set of chimes which was regularly used at the time of the assassination in an area between Dealey Plaza and Parkland Memorial Hospital. When this is coupled with the sequence of the sirens' noise and the lack of the sound of revving-up motorcycle engines on the tape, it is consistent with the possibility that if there was a motorcycle with a stuck microphone, it was located far away from the assassination scene. This possibility is enhanced because the police recording of channel 1 shows that there was indeed a motorcycle with a stuck microphone located far away from Dealey Plaza.

However, let us assume that the tape *was* made from the stuck microphone of a motorcycle at Dealey Plaza. Before jumping to the conclusion that there was a second gunman, one must first examine the assumptions upon which the acoustical experts predicated their conclusions. If those assumptions were wrong, as they were, then the whole acoustical house of cards collapses.

For instance, in order for the acoustical experts' basic assumptions to be correct, you have to assume that not only was there a motorcycle in the motorcade whose microphone was stuck open, but that the policeman used the other channel, channel 1, instead of channel 2, the channel designated for use by the motorcade. Furthermore, the acoustical experts, in performing their tests, had to assume that the motorcycle was at a certain location at the time of the shots, and there is no positive corroborating physical evidence for this assumption.

MOREOVER there is a fundamental error underlying the entire reconstruction by the acoustical experts. It is demonstrated by the moving-picture film of the assassination taken by amateur photographer Abraham Zapruder. Each frame of this film was numbered. A reconstruction of the assassination by the Warren Commission moved the presidential limousine down the street frame by frame. Not only were pictures retaken of this movement from the Zapruder location, but pictures were also taken through the telescopic sight of the assassination weapon from the southeast-corner window of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building.

This reconstruction showed that between Zapruder frames 166 and 210 there was a tree whose branches and foliage almost entirely obscured the gunman's view of the target, except for a brief opening at frame 186. Other evidence showed that the foliage was virtually the same at the time of the re-

(Continues on page 553)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he Edison Electric Institute

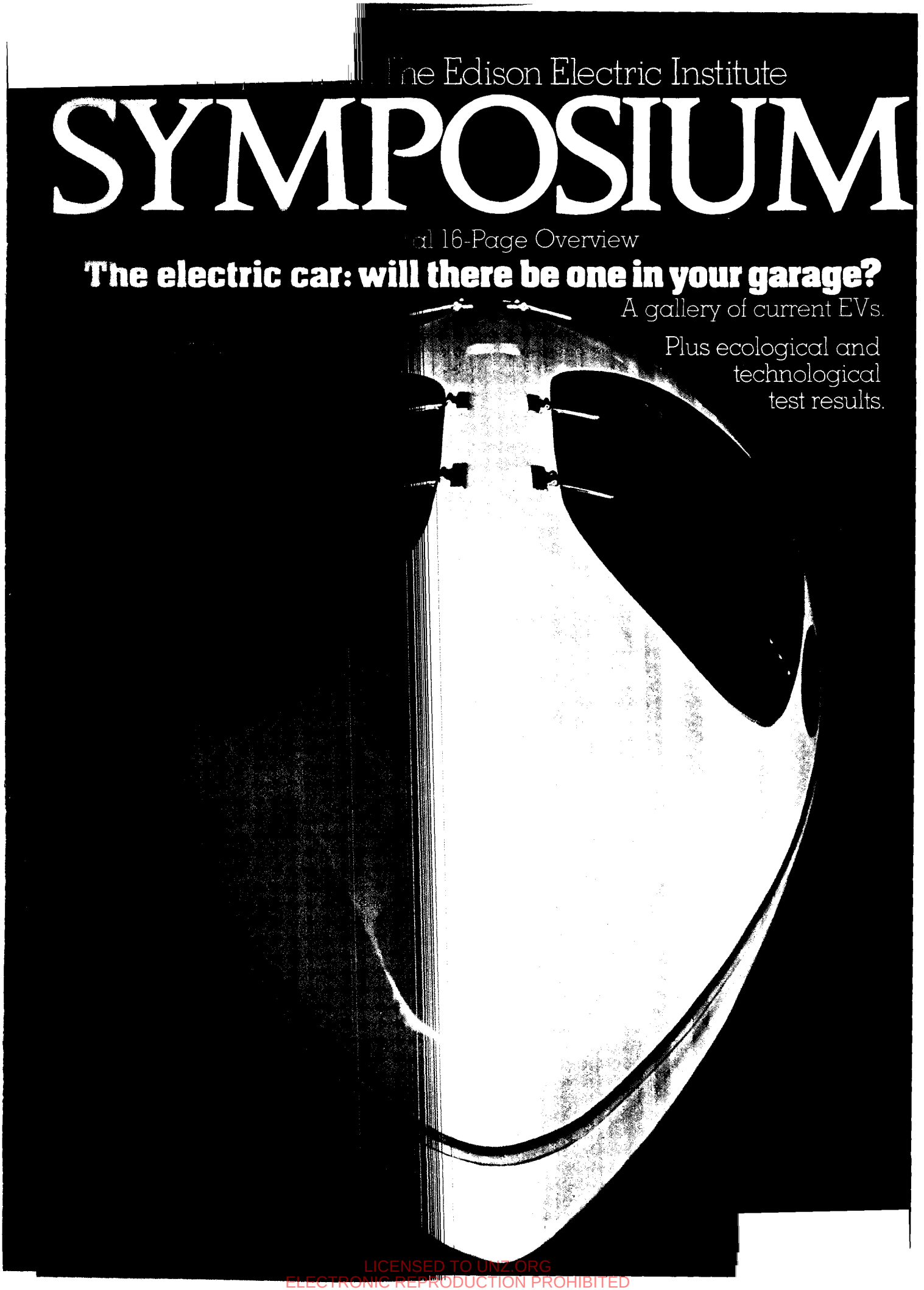
SYMPOSIUM

al 16-Page Overview

The electric car: will there be one in your garage?

A gallery of current EVs.

Plus ecological and technological test results.



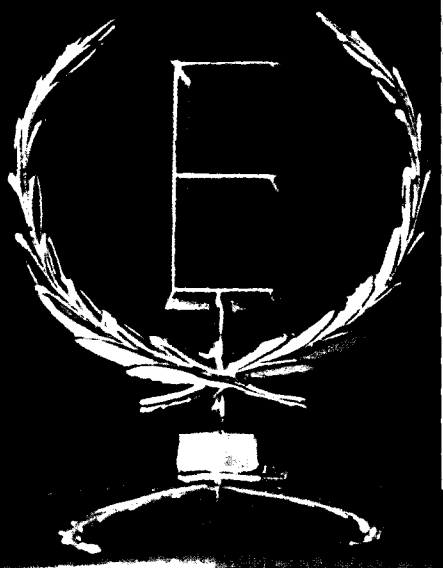
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The electric car: 100 years in the making.

The first road vehicles that traveled by themselves were introduced in the latter part of the 18th century. They were steam-powered, difficult to start and even more difficult to operate. Still, by the mid-1800s, more than 100 American companies were producing steam cars. At the same time, a number of inventors in both Europe and America were exploring a more promising power source: electricity. Frenchman Gaston Plante's development of the storage battery in 1859-'60 made the electric car feasible, and in 1890 William Morrison introduced the first American battery-powered automobile, which was capable of a speed of 14 mph. By the turn of the century, 38 per cent of American cars were powered by electricity. By 1912, the peak year of acceptance, some 30,000 electric cars manufactured by 20 companies were on the road—all of them with an inherent limitation that has persisted to the present: the EVs' restricted range due to the need to recharge the battery.

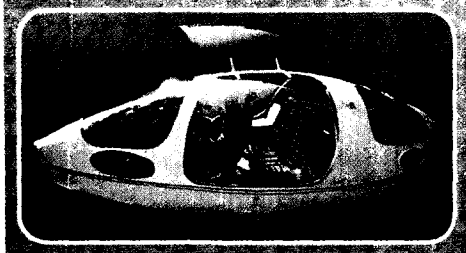
In search of a better propulsion system, inventors soon turned to the internal combustion engine. In the ensuing years, ICE vehicles overshadowed EVs. Nonetheless, EVs continued to evolve throughout the gas-powered auto era, the electric golf cart and fork lift truck being notable examples of mass application of electric propulsion.

The energy crisis has spurred new EV efforts by both governmental and private groups throughout the world. In 1973, the Electric Vehicle Council, New York, and the International Union of Producers and Distributors of Electrical Energy, Paris, began sponsoring an annual International Electric Vehicle Symposium to review the state of progress of electric vehicle technology and to exchange experience and information on the different factors that influence its development.



The following articles are drawn from papers presented at the Fifth International Electric Vehicle Symposium held in Philadelphia in October, 1978, and represent solely the views of the distinguished international participants. The Edison Electric Institute is making the material available in this form because it is dedicated to offering concerned citizens impartial information on the various issues and technological developments affecting the nation's electricity needs, usage and delivery systems.

Readers interested in obtaining further information on any aspect of electric vehicle development are invited to write or call The Edison Electric Institute, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, (212) 573-8700. After June 1979, EEI will be in new consolidated offices at 1111 19th Street, Washington, DC 20036●



Symposium is edited by Rees Behrendt and designed by George Kurten.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uncle Sam in the driver's seat.

THE UNITED STATES ELECTRIC AND HYBRID VEHICLE PROGRAM IS UNDER WAY. HERE'S WHERE IT STANDS TODAY.

by P.J. Brown, Department of Energy, USA

In September 1976, the United States Congress enacted Public Law 94-413, The Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Research, Development and Demonstration Act of 1976. Congress states in the act that it is clear that the nation's dependence on foreign sources of petroleum must be reduced. Since transportation is the single largest use of petroleum supplies, the introduction of significant numbers of electric and hybrid vehicles into the transportation fleet would reduce the use and dependence on petroleum.

To implement the provisions of the act, the Department of Energy has established an Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Program that has three main thrusts. First, to foster and support research development testing and evaluation of electric and hybrid vehicles systems and their component technology to improve the performance of vehicles on the road. Second, to assess the economic and technical practicability of electric vehicles by undertaking a broadly based, federally supported vehicle demonstration. Finally, to enhance the infant electric and hybrid industry by assisting in financing the commercial production of competitive vehicles.

Congress demonstrated its continued interest in the EHV program with the enactment of Public Law 95-238, The Department of Energy Act of 1978—Civilian Applications. In the provisions of Title VI of this Act, amendments to the original Public Law 94-413 were incorporated to improve the overall program. One of the major amendments concerns the schedule for the acquisition of demonstration vehicles and also increasing the total number of demonstration vehicles from 7,500 to 10,000. It was felt by members of Congress and the DOE that the premature demonstration of current technology would not permit proper response to market and technology developments. The law was therefore amended to allow flexibility in the timing and in the quantities to be procured.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND EVALUATION

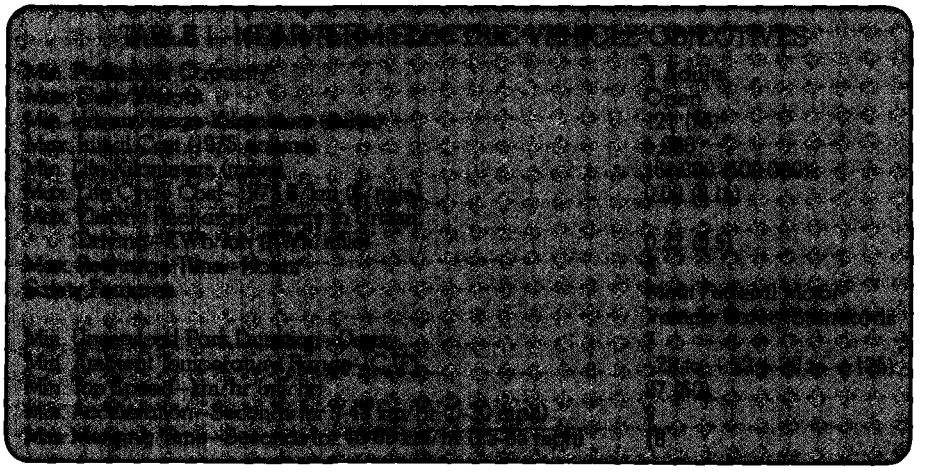
In order to advance the technology of electric and hybrid vehicles, the Department of Energy is conducting an intensive research development, testing and evaluation program. (A summary of DOE's state-of-the-art assessment accompanies this article.)

Two different near-term electric vehicle designs are being developed, and integrated test vehicles are being fabricated by the General Electric Company and the Garrett Corporation. These vehicles are scheduled for completion and to be ready for test by May 1979. Some of the performance objectives of the two designs are displayed in Table I for the near-term electric vehicle.

The DOE is also conducting a program for the development of near-term hybrid vehicles. NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory has been selected by DOE to procure and manage the contracts for the hybrid vehicle program.

In addition to total vehicle design developments, a major effort in battery development for electric and hybrid vehicles is being carried out. Three battery systems have been identified as candidates for R&D effort leading to improvement in the near term: (1) nickel/iron (2) nickel/zinc and (3) lead/acid.

The Argonne National Laboratory (ANL) is the program manager for DOE, and eight subcontractors have been selected for the development efforts: lead/acid—Globe Union, ESB and Eltra; nickel/zinc—Yardney, ERC and Gould; nickel/iron—Westinghouse and Eagle Picher. These American battery companies are also working with a number of foreign battery companies. Each contract culminates with the delivery in 1980 and 1981 of up to 15 full size EV batteries from pilot development lines. A National Battery Test Laboratory is operational at ANL to evaluate, verify and make test comparisons of cells, modules and



Some significant breakthroughs have occurred in these projects, such as the lightweight flywheel design by Garrett and the transistor modules by General Electric.

From the paper: The United States Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Program.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

batteries under uniformly applied test conditions.

For the DOE program, NASA's Lewis Research Centers are negotiating contracts covering improved and advanced EHV propulsion systen component technology. These improved technology contracts cover: (1) a.c. motor controllers, (2) mechanically commutated d.c. motors, (3) electronically commutated d.c. motors and (4) energy buffer for regenerative braking. Advanced d.c. motor controllers and electric motor development contracts are also being negotiated.

DEMONSTRATIONS

In compliance with Public Law 94-413, the DOE issued performance standards on May 30, 1978, for the first demonstration vehicle acquisition. A summary of the standards for personal use and commercial vehicles is given in Table II.

public utilities or delivery services, or marketing and service operators, who will sell or lease to individuals or small companies. In addition to the private sector site operators, federal, state and local government fleets will participate in the demonstration program. Over 50 cities have indicated an interest in the program.

After the demonstration operators have purchased their vehicles from the manufacturers, the operational phase of the project will begin, and data will be kept on the functioning of the vehicles.

INCENTIVES

Congress incorporated provisions for incentives (such as Loan Guaranties) in Public Law 94-413 to encourage private sector involvement in the program. Under its provisions, private loans up to $3 million per project may be guaranteed by the federal government. A ceiling of $60 million has been set

TABLE II SUMMARY–PERFORMANCE STANDARDS ELECTRIC AND HYBRID VEHICLES

Parameter	Conditions	Personal Use (Note 1)	Commercial (Note 1)
Acceleration	0-50 km/h	15 sec.	15 sec.
Gradeability	@ 45 km/h	10%	10%
Gradeability Limit	for 20 sec.	20%	20%
Forward Speed	for 5 min.	90 km/h	70 km/h
Range (SAE J227a)	EV	50 km–C cycle	50 km–B cycle
	HV	200 km–C cycle	200 km–B cycle
Energy Consumption	EV	*	*
	Hy (Note 2)	1.3 MJ/km (non-elec)	9.0 MJ/km kg (non-elec)
Battery Recharge Time	from 80% discharge (110 or 220 volt)	10 hours	
Safety		NHTSA Std. 4	
Emissions		EPA	
Recharge Control			
Service Engine Hours			
Operation		Accident	
Durability			
Documentation			

Notes: (1) SAE J227 of this Procedure applies
2) Non-Electrical Consumption must be 75% of total energy consumed
3) Refer to official publication of standards

To implement the EHV Demonstration Project, the Department of Energy will utilize local demonstration site operators who will provide the requisite maintenance and parts supply support as well as furnishing operator or market demonstration vehicles.

The private sector groups will be either fleet operators, such as

for the aggregate amount of guaranties outstanding at any one time. Public Law 95-238 also amended the Loan Guaranties section of the original act by establishing an Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Development Fund in the Treasury of the United States.

Another incentive for small business is the availability of planning grants for firms who lack the funds necessary to prepare and submit proposals.

In addition to the financial incentives, Congress authorized the conduct of studies and research programs on incentives that will encourage greater use of electric and hybrid vehicles. A number of studies have been initiated identifying barriers to the use of EHVs and suggesting corrective incentives.

STUDIES

Section 13 of Public Law 94-413 states that four specific areas are to be studied:

(1) *Institutional Factors* that may bias the transportation system towards vehicles of particular characteristics. A study was conducted by the Transportation Systems Center of the U.S. Department of Transportation, in August, 1977. A continuing effort is being made by TSC to suggest alternative ways of overcoming the barriers of EHV.

(2) *Long-Range Material Demands and Pollution Effects* stemming from the use of electric and hybrid vehicles. This study was completed by General Research Corporation on August 11, 1977.

(3) *Safety Standards and Regulations* for electric and hybrid vehicles are recommended to DOE by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration of the U.S. Department of Transportation.

(4) *Regenerative Braking* system effectiveness and feasibility for electric automobiles. This study is being conducted for DOE by The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

In addition, DOE is working cooperatively with the U.S. Department of Agriculture to determine the agricultural uses of electric vehicles.

The ultimate goal of the federal program is to assist in the commercialization of a viable and competitive electric vehicle industry. With an industry capable of producing electric and hybrid vehicles for personal use and commercial vans at competitive life cycle costs, it is possible that as many as 10 million electric and hybrid vehicles will be part of the transportation fleet in the year 2000. This will result in an annual saving of 100 million barrels of oil a year●

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State-of-the-Art Assessment Update

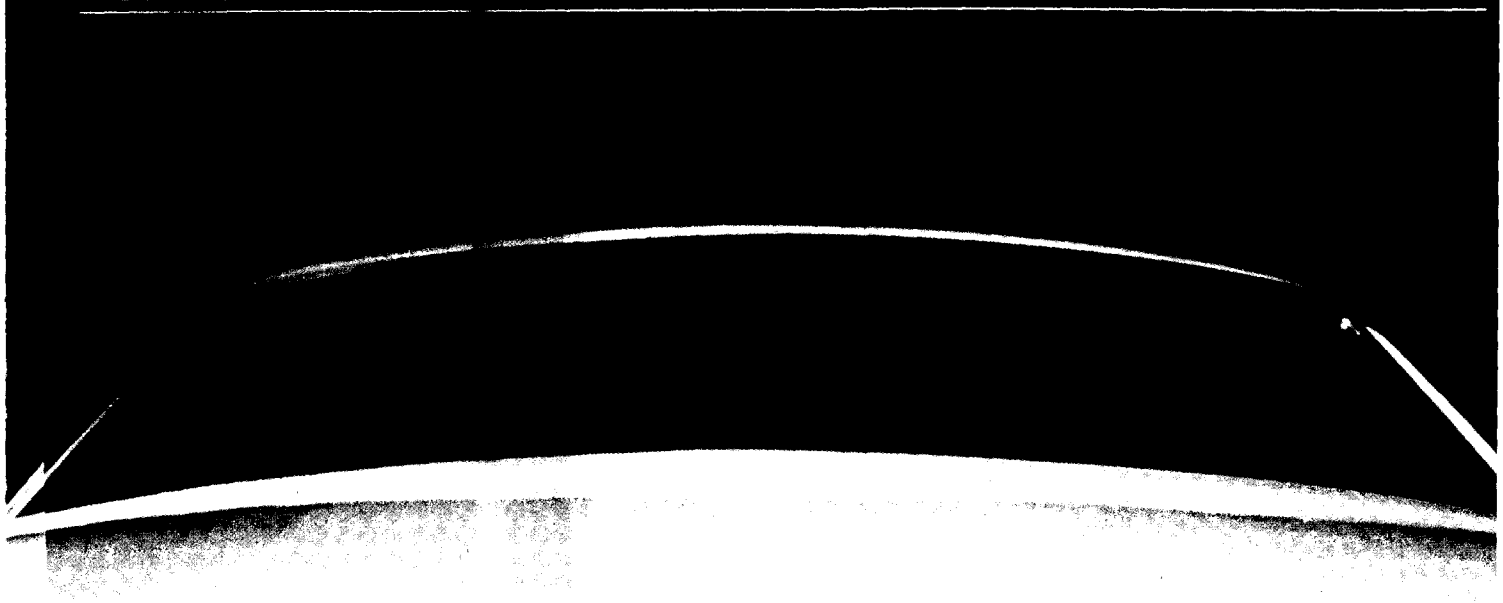
***W.J.** Dippold, of the Department of Energy, summarizes the results of 1978 electric vehicle state-of-the-art assessment reports:*

It is clear from the data of the various reports that vehicles with current technology in batteries, controllers and motors provide more energy efficiency with four-speed manual transmissions than vehicles without transmissions or those using automatic transmissions. The data show this to be true of both personal and commercial vehicles.

Because of the large variation in motor characteristics, particularly torque, it is difficult to assess the value of a transmission on time to accelerate to moderate speeds. The analysis is equally difficult on gradeability at low speeds above 5 kilometers per hour. The original SOAA report shows that the gradeability limit at two to three kilometers per hour of a current SOA vehicle is measurably improved by a four-speed manual transmission. Without a transmission, it is clearly observable during testing that the battery current demand on starting is much higher. This is particularly true of vehicles that are geared to have top speeds greater than 70 kilometers per hour and that are not equipped with a maximum current limit controller. The data show the gradeability of vehicles with four-speed transmissions to be better than the gradeability of vehicles without transmissions at vehicle speeds of 50 kilometers per hour and greater.

While these few vehicles provide insufficient data to draw firm conclusions either presently or long-term, the data do indicate that there are some distinct advantages to a four-speed transmission in current technology electric vehicles. The effects on energy efficiency (range improvement), reduction of power demands on the battery at start-up and improvements in gradeability at moving traffic speeds would appear to offset the inconvenience of having to shift while driving. Opportunities are clearly visible for improvements in controller-motor designs to limit the power demands on the battery for routine start-up of a vehicle without a transmission and to improve the torque characteristics (i.e., gradeability) at the higher speed end. Alternatively, transmission design opportunities continue to be visible with the objective of maintaining the apparent advantages of the four-speed transmission but requiring no overt action on the part of the driver to change gears●

From the paper: Electric Vehicle State-of-the-Art Assessment Update.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The smog fighters are coming.

AN L.A. STUDY SHOWS EVS WOULD SHARPLY REDUCE TODAY'S ICE AIR POLLUTION.

—by D.L. Harbaugh, Southern California Edison Co., USA

The air pollution of an electric vehicle can be compared to that of a gasoline vehicle in two ways:

(1) total pollutants emitted into the atmosphere due to operation of each type vehicle on a per mile basis; and

(2) the effect of these emissions in terms of ground level concentration.

The emitted pollutants include not only those from the vehicle but also emission from the power plant (to generate the electricity required to charge the EV battery) and the oil refinery (for manufacture of both the gasoline and power plant fuel oil). The emissions for the electric vehicle are calculated based on an oil-fired generating plant because:

(1) these plants generate the majority of Southern California Edison power in the Los Angeles area; and

(2) it simplifies the problem of power and pollutants mix analysis (i.e., from hydro, nuclear, etc.).

The time frame used for this analysis was 1980 because:

(1) it is sufficiently near-term to use current SCE data; and

(2) a number of the references from which data have been extracted have used 1980 as the study year.

SCE agrees with the original ERDA estimate for EV energy consumption of 0.8 kwhrs/mile, and this estimate has been used to calculate the total pollutants per mile in the pollution table. This table is a "worst case" example, and it still indicates that, except for SO2, the electric vehicle will be clearly superior to the gasoline vehicle in terms of emitted pollutants.

In addition, the following factors should also be considered in the comparison:

(1) To the extent that further emission reductions are required and can be made practicable at generating stations, it will further reduce emission levels. While installation and maintenance of control systems at refineries and power plants require a substantial investment, this may ultimately be a more practical solution than the installation and maintenance of millions of miniaturized control systems on the automobile population or disruptive traffic control measures.

(2) In practice, the effectiveness of existing automobile pollution control systems has been shown to deteriorate because of age and inadequate maintenance. In contrast, power plant emission controls are continuously maintained.

(3) Most importantly, because the pollutants are removed from the sites of concentrated local pollution (i.e., downtown freeways) and are instead expelled from high smokestacks, the contribution to the breathable ground level pollution is sharply reduced, in most cases by over 99 per cent.

Further, in populated areas that are located directly adjacent to power plant exhaust stacks, pollutant levels within the ground plane of the emission plume should contribute but a small fraction of the concentations that define air quality standards to protect health and welfare, even under adverse conditions.

The end effect of electric vehicle use in the Los Angeles Basin will be to reduce the air pollution caused by automobile travel, because:

(1) Electric vehicles introduce significantly less total and individual pollutants on a per mile basis than gasoline-powered vehicles (except for SO2 emissions, which are only slightly greater on a per mile basis in the worst-case analysis). It should also significantly reduce formation of oxidant, a secondary pollutant.

(2) To the extent that power plant emission reductions are required, and can practicably be made, the comparison is even more favorable for the EV.

(3) To the extent that battery-charging energy is supplied by nuclear hydroelectric and out-of-state coal-fired plants, the comparison is also more favorable for EVs.

(4) Electric vehicles will reduce the automobile contribution to ground-level pollutant concentrations by over 90 per cent, because the EV emission source will be from elevated power plant exhaust stacks.

(5) Shifting the automobile emissions point from the individual tail pipe to a power plant stack offers continual, superior opportunities for control of automotive air pollution emissions●

TOTAL POLLUTION CONTRIBUTION

	HC	CO	NO2	SO2	Part
Electric Veh.					
Vehicle	0	0	0	0	0
Power Plant (a)	.128	.024	.696	.752	.088
Refinery (b)	.007	.002	.061	.198	.018
Total (c)	.135	.026	.757	.950	.090
Gasoline Veh.					
Vehicle	.41(d)	9.00(d)	1.50(d)	0.13(f)	0.12(g)
Power Plant	0	0	0	0	0
Refinery (e)	.99	.01	.40	.71	.10
Total (c)	1.40	9.01	1.90	.84	.22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making the electric car safe.

CONVENTIONAL CARS HAVE HAD 80 YEARS TO OVERCOME THEIR HAZARDS. TO COMPETE, EVS MUST ENGINEER IN SAFETY FROM THE START.

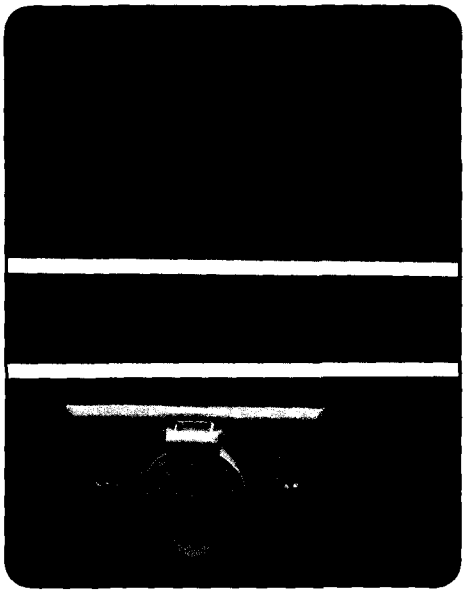
by G. G. Harding, Lucas Batteries Ltd., United Kingdom

As the development of battery electric vehicles with good road performance leads to greater numbers of such vehicles being operated alongside their conventional counterparts, unless EVs are seen to be at least as safe as ordinary cars, their further adoption could be impeded by the attitudes of potential operators and/or legislators.

Because battery-powered vehicles with high performance have only been introduced within the last decade, equal safety standards will need to be achieved in a very short time in comparison with conventional vehicles, which have had 80 years to achieve present levels of safety. To this end, members of the Lucas electric vehicle development team and others associated with them have given serious attention to safety aspects of EV designs.

The Lucas electric vehicle program has now run for over 10 years, and during this time the 65 vehicles that have been built have accumulated over a quarter of a million miles under operational conditions, using lightweight lead-acid batteries. Throughout this development period, it proved very difficult indeed to forecast some of the safety problems, even those that, subsequent to their discovery, appear to have been impossible to overlook. An example of this was the first battery explosion in a Lucas vehicle. The effect of explosions in single cells is well known and produces little damage, but an explosion due to ignition of an explosive gas mixture that has accumulated in the space above the battery as well as in the cells is a very different phenomenon. This occurred during a Sunday night in the very hot summer of 1975 due to an overcharging situation in a garage which had not been approved by Lucas.

The explosion very nearly demolished the vehicle. As a safeguard against another similar incident, all Lucas vehicles were withdrawn from service, and a thorough investigation was begun to determine the factors leading to various situations where explosions can occur and all possible means of averting such conditions.



We examined such factors as the speed of gas dispersion under various conditions and the rate at which gas is generated when regenerative braking is used with a battery near the fully charged state. Tests clearly pointed to the need for very thorough ventilation of the battery compartment. It was therefore necessary to build a charger and associated venting system to meet strict requirements in addition to the current/time schedule for charging in the minimum time with minimum overcharge.

In order to prevent a propagated explosion, as opposed to single cell explosions, the gaseous mixture in the battery compartment must be kept below the lower explosive limit (L.E.L.) under all operating conditions. The L.E.L. for hydrogen in air is 4% by volume, but it is understood that, once initiated, an explosion can be propagated at levels considerably below this, and Lucas is aiming for a hydrogen level within the battery compartment of one-quarter of the L.E.L. to prevent propagation from one cell to another. To ensure that this limit is not exceeded the system must be designed so that the charger limits the gassing current to a pre-set level, and the battery compartment is adequately ventilated.

Natural ventilation of the battery compartment of the latest Lucas vehicles in service has been maximized by leaving the battery compartment open around the top. The interconnections between individual battery units are sealed to protect them from the effects of moisture and dirt. However, with the battery suspended only a very short distance below the vehicle floor, it has been found that such a system still requires some forced ventilation over the tops of the batteries during charging, and this is achieved by tangential a.c. mains fans.

An explosion can only occur, of course, if there is both an explosive mixture and a suitable ignition source, which may be as small as a low voltage spark. It is therefore essential that the positioning of contactors, d.c. motors or any other spark-producing equipment in or near the battery compartment should be avoided.

HANDLING BATTERY PACKS

In our present van models, the battery is contained in a pannier, which is positioned under the floor of the vehicle. In addition to facilitating the removal and replacement of the battery, by lowering and raising it vertically, such an arrangement has the advan-

From the paper: Some Aspects of Electric Vehicle Safety.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tage that the body of the vehicle can be completely sealed from the battery compartment.

The battery pannier, in addition to supporting the weight of the battery, must also protect it from road debris which may be thrown up by the wheels. In addition, an air space is provided around the battery units to avoid overheating during prolonged heavy charge or discharge periods. The use of stainless steel (AISI Type 316) provides the required strength and impact resistance to withstand road usage and also overcomes corrosion problems associated with accidental acid spillage. Panniers made from GRP, using fire retardant resins and metal reinforcement as necessary, and from other plastics, are being investigated, since they offer the additional built-in safety feature of electrical insulation.

SAFE WORKING WITH HIGH VOLTAGE

High performance electric vehicles, by definition, require motors, controllers and batteries that can deliver relatively high levels of power. Mainly for reasons of cost, it is necessary to keep currents as low as possible, and therefore higher system voltages are likely to be required than have generally been used hitherto on battery vehicles. The present Lucas 1-ton payload delivery vehicles use 50 hp (37 kW) traction motors with a nominal system voltage of 216 V. This comparatively high d.c. voltage clearly needs to be treated with respect, and thorough precautions need to be taken to protect personnel from electric shock, whether they are using the vehicle, servicing it or attending to the batteries.

In order to minimize the danger of electric shocks on the vehicle itself, and at the same time reduce the chances of accidental short circuits through insulation failure, the high voltage power system is designed to be totally isolated electrically from the vehicle body, so that accidental contact with a "live" potential will not complete a circuit to earth.

The main battery connections are linked to the controller via double pole isolating contactors, which are normally in the open position except when the controller is switched on.

The ability to remove the battery complete in its pannier also enables the high voltage connections to the vehicle to be broken automatically by means of a plug and socket without the need for any manual removal of connecting leads within the vehicle.

ELECTRONIC CONTROL SYSTEMS

In an electric vehicle incorporating a thyristor as its main current control element, the motor power is controlled by rapid switching of the motor current by a solid state device. This provides very smooth control of the traction motor and also enables the full performance of the vehicle to be maintained until the battery is almost fully discharged.

In the event of a malfunction, however, the current switch can remain in the "on" position, so that the driver loses control of the motor current. With a series motor, by its very nature this means a high fault torque or motor power, until interrupted by the system fuse. Normally this takes place almost instantaneously, and there is no danger to the vehicle occupants or bystanders, but in certain circumstances the fuse may take some time to blow, resulting in a temporary effect somewhat similar to a throttle sticking on an ICE vehicle. All our latest vehicles are fitted with a cut-out button, designed to enable a driver to isolate the battery from the drive system in an emergency.

FUSES AND CIRCUIT BREAKERS

Fuses are essentially non-ideal circuit elements, taking a finite time to blow, depending on the degree of overload. In a series system, at high vehicle speeds, the fault current is limited by the series motor characteristic, and blowing times can be relatively long. The rating of fuse necessary to protect the vehicle against the consequences of control failure may be lower than that which would otherwise be chosen for the application, leading to a somewhat reduced life. It has also been established that even if a fuse is operated within its rating, the combination of vibration and thermal cycling experienced in the normal duty cycle of a vehicle will eventually cause the failure of a present generation semiconductor fuse through mechanical fatigue of the fuse elements. Because of these shortcomings, we are investigating the possiblity of using a magnetic circuit breaker as the primary circuit protection element.

REGENERATIVE BRAKING

Regenerative braking is fitted to Lucas vehicles for three main reasons: first, to reduce wear of the normal friction braking system, thereby reducing down time and maintenance costs; second, to reduce the extent to which a vehicle's battery is discharged by any given duty cycle, since this may increase battery life; and third, to improve the feel or "driveability" of the vehicle.

The design of the regenerative braking system is such that the first element of regenerative braking comes into operation when the accelerator pedal is released. This roughly equates to "engine braking" in an ICE vehicle. The first movement of the brake pedal brings into operation a higher level of regenerative braking, which at its maximum gives rise to a retardation of the order of 20%g. On the latest vehicles, provided the brake pedal remains depressed, regenerative braking remains in operation until the vehicle is virtually at rest.

From time to time it has been suggested that relatively high levels of regenerative braking can only be applied with safety to front-wheel-drive vehicles, and that on ice-covered roads regenerative braking of the level used on Lucas vehicles applied to the rear wheels only might induce dangerous wheel skids. International braking regulations also specify that the service braking action should be on all wheels and that an increasing pedal movement should be accompanied by an increase in vehicle retardation, and vice versa. The particular features of regenerative braking may not be entirely compatible with these regulatory requirements and may necessitate further discussion.

Lucas has conducted a number of tests in an endeavor to establish whether rear wheel skids

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be induced under adverse conditions by regenerative braking. Although it is not claimed that such testing has been exhaustive, so far it has not been possible to induce rear wheel skids by this means.

PARKING BRAKES

Unlike ICE vehicles, electric vehicles of the type not fitted with an automatic gearbox have no means other than the parking brake for locking the wheels when parked. In hilly terrains, some operators of Lucas vehicles have requested an additional means of locking the wheels. This is because parking brake ratchets are known to fail from time to time. It is desirable to be able to meet this requirement, and we are currently working on alternative solutions.

WATER WADE TESTS

Lucas does not intend ever to be a company that manufactures vehicles. In order to ensure that the complete vehicle into which the Lucas drive system is fitted is completely satisfactory, it is necessary for it to be developed and tested by its manufacturer. Lucas considers itself very fortunate to be working closely with GM's UK subsidiary, Vauxhall Motors, and sharing a joint development program with them. In addition to performance and handling, the program has included shallow water wade tests, which initially showed that water entered the control system housing, the motor, the main battery connection and the battery compartment itself. Gradually these problems have been overcome, and it is now possible to drive vehicles at 25 mph (40kph) in water 4 inches (100mm) deep without problems even under these very severe conditions.

SILENCE

One of the attributes of electric vehicles frequently alleged by many people to be both an environmental advantage and at the same time also a hazard is their relative silence. It is often suggested that, being silent, they must present additional danger to pedestrians, particularly to old people.

So far we have not experienced this problem in service and believe that this may be partly due to the fact that in cities most vehicles are preceded by a vehicle and also followed by another. It is almost impossible to stand on the sidewalk and pick out which of the three fairly closely spaced vehicles is the quiet electric. The relative silence of the many thousands of electric milk delivery vehicles operating in the UK is not known to have caused any significant safety problems.

HEATING

It is now almost universally accepted that the most appropriate means of heating an electric vehicle is by one of the several types of proprietary combustion heaters currently available. These are manufactured as either air-or-water-heaters, and alternative types will operate on gasoline, kerosene or bottled gas. Kerosene for heating is safer under crash conditions than gasoline, and to add to the safety, the fuel tank is filled with aluminum mesh and is positioned in a relatively safe situation behind the front axle beam.

DRIVER CONTROLS

A feature included on every Lucas vehicle has been the automatic selection of a "no-drive" situation if the equivalent of the ignition key is turned to the "off" position. This is to ensure that when the driver switches on again movement of the accelerator pedal will not cause the vehicle to move at all, let alone in an unexpected direction. In order to move the vehicle at all after turning the key, the driver must make a positive selection of the direction in which he wishes to move before the accelerator becomes operative. In addition, Lucas vehicles incorporate a speed limiting device whenever reverse is selected, but the device does not limit the torque available.

Lucas believes that there should be free exchange of information on all aspects of safety among companies involved in electric vehicle development, to ensure that these vehicles become as safe as possible as soon as possible●

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The shape of the future.

THREE PLUG-IN PROTOTYPES FROM SOME 100 SHOWN AT THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL ELECTRIC VEHICLE SYMPOSIUM.

The Centennial Electric

General Electric Research and Development Center
P.O. Box 8, Schenectady, N.Y. 12301

Named in honor of General Electric's 100th birthday, this four-passenger, front-wheel drive subcompact was designed to achieve top performance from off-the-shelf components and commercially available battery systems. It was built to GE specifications by Triad Services, Inc., of Dearborn, Michigan, and is powered by 18 six-volt, lead-acid batteries from Globe-Union, Inc.

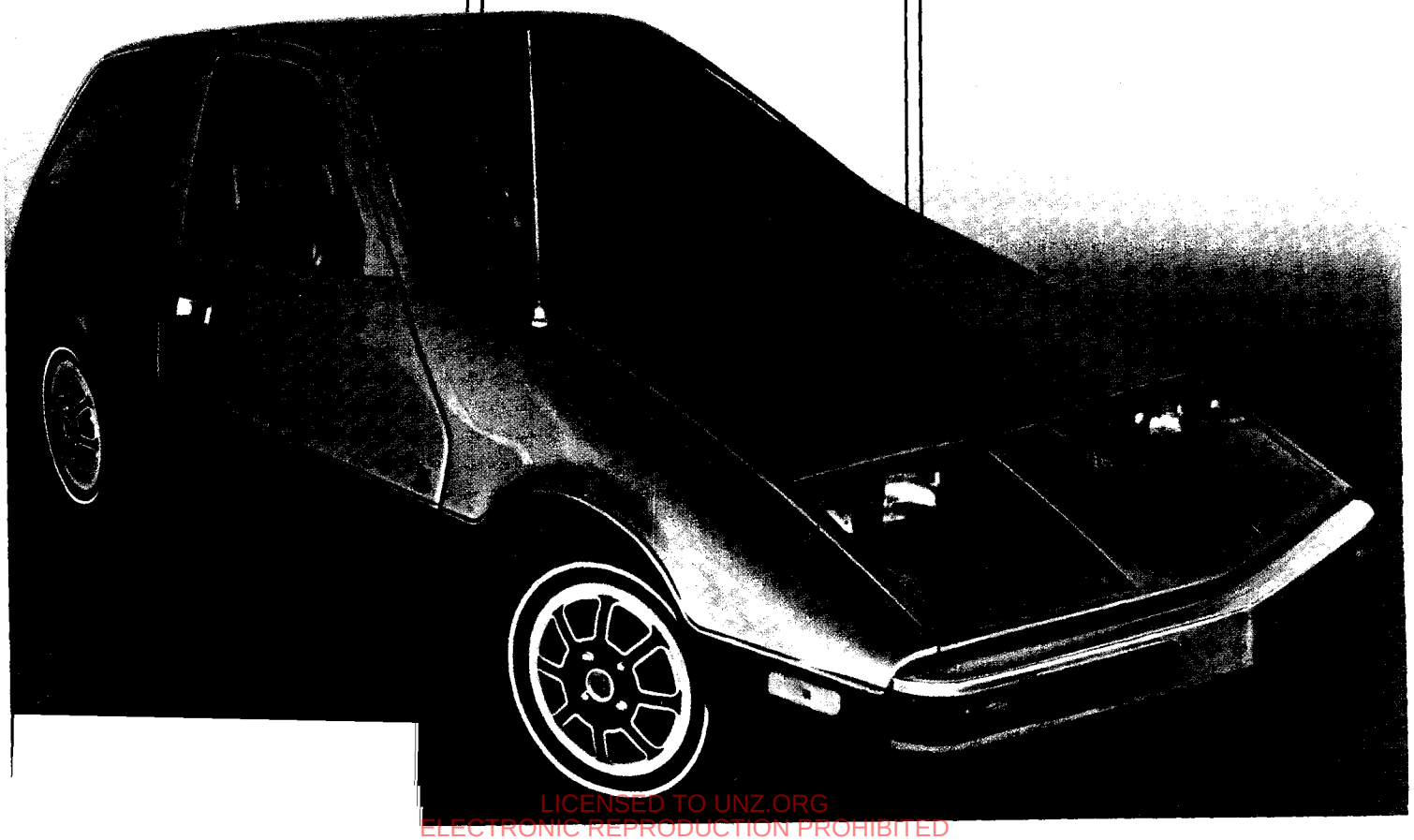
The vehicle has a range of 75 miles at a constant 40 miles per hour, a cruising speed of 55 mph and a passing speed of up to 60 mph. In stop-and-go urban driving, its range is about 45 miles between charges. It can accelerate from zero to 30 mph in nine seconds.

The Centennial Electric weighs 3,250 pounds, including batteries. It stands 53.3 inches high, is 160 inches long, 66.1 inches wide and has a wheelbase of 92 inches. Ground clearance is six inches. It has a low center-of-gravity, because 1,225 pounds of batteries are slung on a movable trolley beneath the vehicle and run nearly its full length. It has no grill, because there is no radiator to cool.

To keep the car low to reduce air drag, as well as to permit easier entry and exiting, the back seats face to the rear and are entered through a hatchback-type rear door. Because the front doors open out and forward on hinged links, they can be opened fully even when the car is parked within 14 inches of an obstacle.

Auxiliary equipment includes a gasoline-type heater, AM/FM/CB radio and electric windshield wipers and defrosters. Fans, headlights and other accessories operate off a standard 12-volt battery, which is connected to an on-board battery charger.

Although the car is not for sale, it was designed to sell for about $6,000 if 100,000 vehicles were manufactured annually in one plant●



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Globe-Union, Inc.
5757 Green Bay Avenue,
P.O. Box 591
Milwaukee, Wis. 53201

This four-passenger test car, designed by the world's largest manufacturer of automotive replacement batteries, had its preliminary performance testing during a harsh Milwaukee winter. After an overnight charge, the Endura was driven on suburban streets at city speeds of 30-35 mph for some 100 miles. It also reached speeds in excess of 60 mph under expressway conditions.

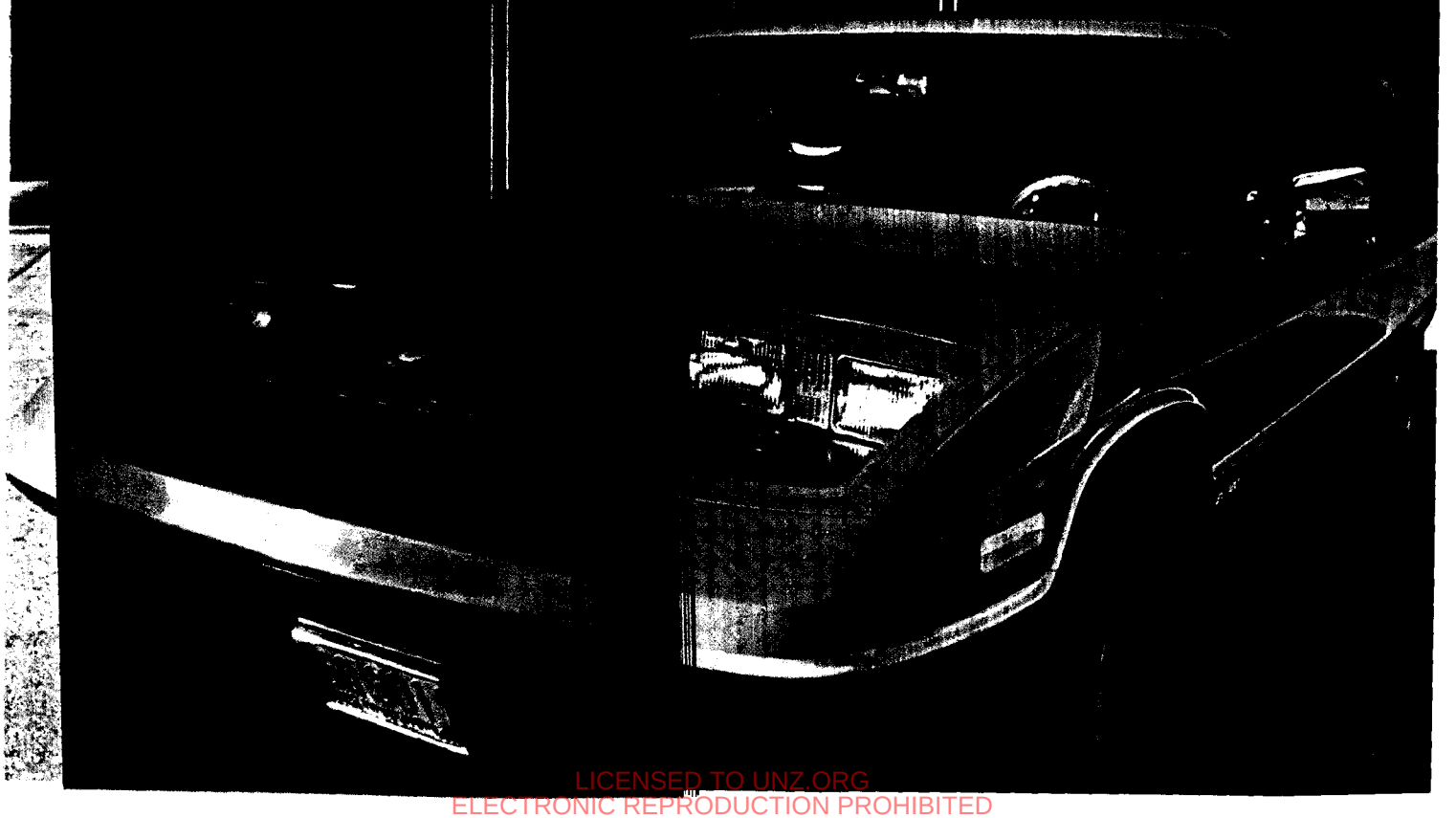
The Endura's power source consists of twenty 12-volt, lead-acid Globe-Union electric vehicle batteries mounted on an aluminum frame and roller sub-assembly tray with access through the front bumper section.

The rear-wheel drive system is powered by a 20 horsepower, 120 volt series wound motor, 0-5000 rpm with 100 cfm forced air cooling. The motor is integrally mounted to a planetary transmission, transaxle and differential arrangement. Total gear ratio reduction 4.93:1.

The body is lightweight fiberglass with integral steel roll cage laminated to the interior for strength. A small spoiler on the undercarriage, plexiglass-covered rectangular headlights, recessed wipers and flush-mounted windshield reduce air flow resistance.

The frame is aluminum alloy for maximum weight savings and corrosion resistance. There is independent front and rear suspension.

Specifications: wheelbase, 108 inches; track front, 60 inches, rear, 58.8 inches; length, 184 inches; width, 72 inches; battery weight, 1,300 lbs; total weight, 3,200 lbs●



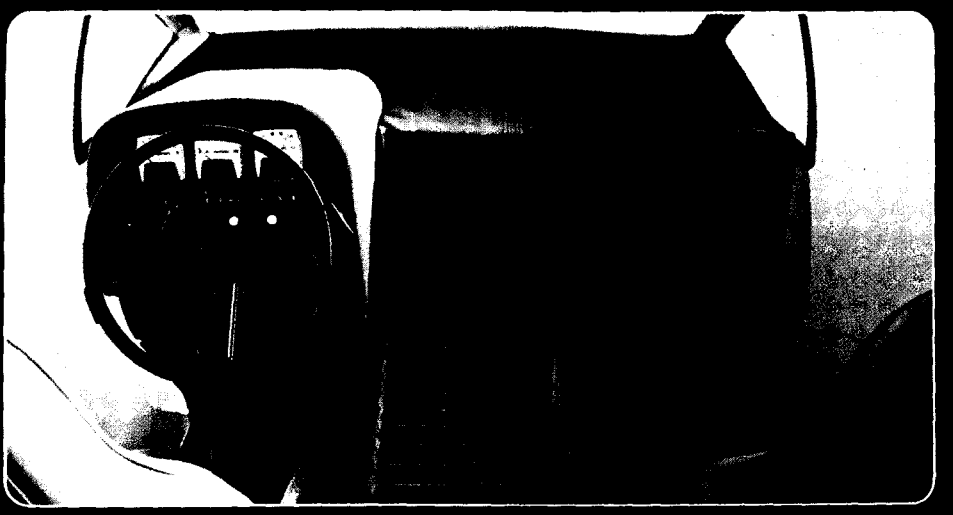
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copper Electric Town Car

405 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

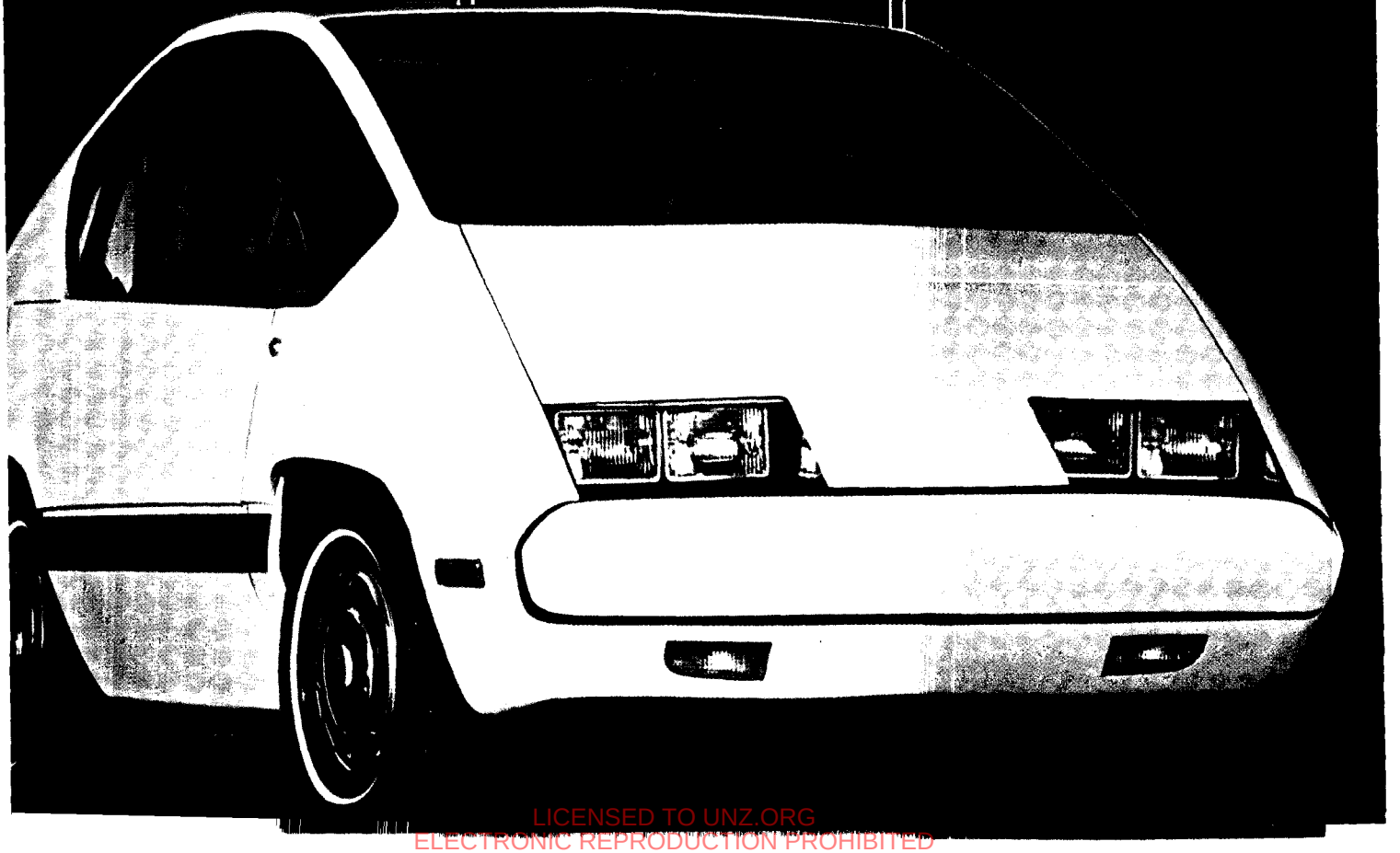
CDA, the copper and brass industry's advanced market development arm, first introduced its Town Car in 1975. This current model, built by Triad Services to CDA specifications, is the fourth in a series of prototypes, with each representing a technological advance over the previous vehicle.

This advanced Town Car has a range of 120 miles at a cruising speed of 40 mph and a top speed in excess of 55 mph. The hatch-back two-seater weighs 2,972 lbs., including the approximately 1,200 lbs. of its 18 six-volt, lead-acid batteries. The unitized body is constructed of sheet steel external panels with welded box structures and other shapes for reinforcement in keeping with the design requirement that it be adaptable to mass production.



The Copper Electric Town Car has a front wheel drive system, utilizing a specially wound, separately excited electric motor with a matched field control system. It also features regenerative braking, which has resulted in improved range.

Because the doors swing outward far enough to clear the car's body, then travel rearward parallel to the body, easy entry and exiting is possible with just 11 inches of clearance available●



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Test drives

AROUND THE WORLD, PILOT PROJECTS ARE ASSESSING ELECTRIC VEHICLES. HEREWITH, THREE EXAMPLES.

1. POST OFFICE DELIVERY VANS IN CALIFORNIA

by B. W. Burrows, W. J. Wysor and R. J. Hartman, Gould Inc., USA

The largest electric fleet operation in the U.S. today is that of the U.S. Postal Service. In 1975-76, 362 electric vans having a unique propulsion system were completed and delivered. The vehicles are now in service throughout the United States, with the greatest concentration in California. These electric vans, manufactured by AM General, utilize electric propulsion systems designed and manufactured by Gould specifically for the postal delivery type application. The system design stressed high efficiency, safety, cost effectiveness and satisfaction of the specified performance requirements. The key performance requirements in this specification were:

Range: 32 Km (20 miles) with 300 stop/starts

Top Speed: 53 Km/hr (33MPH)

Acceleration: 0 to 48Km/hr (30 miles/hr) in 20 seconds

Gradeability: 0 to 16Km/hr (10MPH) with 122 m (400 ft)

Battery Life: 4 years

The AM General electric van, designated the DJ5E, is a conversion of the standard gasoline-powered van supplied to the U.S Postal Service in large quantities. Suspension and brake modifications were made to accommodate the higher weight of the electric version. Final curb weight of the electric version was 1651 Kg (3,632 lbs.).

In selecting a propulsion system approach and designing the system, major attention was given to the following requirements:

- Efficiency—In order to minimize battery size and vehicle operating cost, the maximum propulsion system efficiency available with state-of-the-art components was sought.
- Performance—The vehicle must satisfy the specified acceleration, top speed, and gradeability requirements but should not significantly exceed these requirements if battery energy consumption is to be minimized.
- Safety—The vehicle must be safe to operate and always under the operator's control. Failures should shut down the system. Shock hazard must be eliminated.
- Maintainability and Serviceability—Easy serviceability was considered critical, with particular attention given to easy battery accessibility and serviceability.
- Life—Long service life is required for cost effective operation. The battery is the largest single contributor to operational cost, thus proper battery selection is important.
- Quiet, Smooth Operation—An electric vehicle is expected to be quiet and smooth, thus particular attention was given to this area.

An additional consideration was component availability on a short time schedule with a minimum of tooling. This latter requirement restricted consideration to DC motors, since AC motor controllers could not be available within the allowable time period. Also, only available production transmissions and final drives could be considered. The U.S. Postal specifications preclude the use of a manual transmission and clutch, thus further restricting the consideration to drive systems that were automatic in nature.

The system selected for this application was the direct-coupled, separately-excited DC motor with a thyristor chopper used for armature voltage and field voltage control. This system offered significant efficiency advantages in all cases plus cost and weight advantages in most cases.

The propulsion battery is the heart of any electric vehicle. The key battery characteristics considered for this application were:

- Life—The specification required a minimum life of four years.
- Energy Density—The battery must have sufficient energy available to allow the vehicle to meet the specified vehicle range of 20 miles with 300 stop/starts per the specified postal mission.
- Power Density—The battery's power output must be adequate to allow the vehicle to meet the acceleration requirements.
- Serviceability—The battery configuration should allow easy servicing, i.e., addition of water, cleaning, etc., when installed in the vehicle.

Of course, only lead-acid batteries were available in a practical sense. From the types available, the semi-industrial battery was chosen as the most cost-effective of those that allowed the vehicle performance requirements to be met.

The completed vehicle has been tested against the requirements of the U.S. Postal Service specification on three occasions. Representative achieved performance is:

Range: 45 Km (28 miles) with 300 stop/starts

From the paper Semi-Industrial Batteries for Electric Vehicle Fleet Application.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cruise Speed: 53-64 Km/hr (33-40 MPH)

Acceleration: 0 to 48 Km/hr (30 MPH) in 20 seconds

Gradeability: 0 to 26 Km/hr (16 MPH) on a 10% grade

The vehicle exceeds by a significant margin all of the specification requirements except acceleration. It just met the acceleration requirements.

Driver acceptance of the vehicle has been generally good. The only consistent complaint among drivers has been the slow acceleration.

Fleet operation has not shown any major design deficiencies associated with the propulsion system drive train. Fleet uptime has stayed over 96 per cent with operation generally in the region of 98 per cent. This is most favorable, considering the newness of the propulsion system design and the very limited test time prior to entering the production phase. Field experience has demonstrated, however, that the problems associated with introducing significant quantities of a new electric vehicle into field use should not be minimized. Minor problems can become major if not remedied promptly. Minor defects become serious if they must be corrected in a large number of vehicles. This must be recognized in any new program and appropriate provisions made to correct expeditiously any problems or defects ●

2.

A CAR FLEET IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by N.S. Wrench and D.F. Porter,
The Electricity Council, United Kingdom

The Electricity Council decided in 1966 to undertake a project with a fleet of electric cars to evaluate the capability of present technology and to quantify the extent of further development necessary. The car is the Enfield 8000, a two-seater saloon, powered by eight traction monobloc batteries and one auxiliary 12V battery. It has a 48V, 6 kW series wound motor, controlled in six stages by voltage switching (12, 24 and 48V) and field weakening at each voltage. There is no regenerative braking. The curb weight of the vehicle is 2,150 lbs (975 kg), and the construction is a steel square tube section chassis with aluminum body panels.

The vehicle is fitted with an on-board dual charger which independently recharges both the 48V and 12V batteries in 8 hours, using a domestic 240V, 13A single phase mains supply.

The maximum speed of the car is 40 mph (64 km/h), and the 0-30 mph (0-48 km/h) acceleration time is 12.5s. Vehicle driving range on a full battery charge is between 24 and 56 miles (39-90 km), depending on driving conditions. The Enfield car meets all current legislative requirements in the UK (no exemptions were sought), including the 30 mph (48 km/h) frontal barrier impact test.

A total of 66 vehicles are participating in a national project organized by the Electricity Council, and they have now been in service for periods of two to three years.

The total fleet mileage is 193,266 miles (310965 km) (April 1978), which corresponds to an average of only 2,928 miles per car. However, there is a wide diversity in the extent to which the cars have been used. There are a number of reasons for this diversity, mainly associated with the manner in which the project was originally organized. As a result, valuable lessons have been learned.

First, the decision to spread the fleet throughout 14 different Electricity Boards resulted in problems of project management and monitoring. On the other hand, in those areas where cars have been grouped in numbers of, say, four or five, it has been possible to develop local centers of expertise and ensure a regular maintenance program, with a resultant higher level of usage and enthusiasm on the part of the staff. The following conclusions can be drawn for those vehicles for which good repair maintenance records exist:

1. Unscheduled repairs, which were running at a fairly high level early in the project, have shown a marked fall, in line with the elimination of "teething troubles" with various components, principally the charger and controller.

2. By far the major item of routine maintenance is the topping up of batteries. The provision of a single point manifold topping up system is seen as an essential feature of future battery designs.

3. The normal automotive and body components of the vehicle have proved very reliable, with a very small servicing requirement, other than that arising from accident damage.

4. There have been no problems at all with the mechanical drive chain. The motor has proved 100% reliable, and no motor maintenance has yet been required.

5. The costs of servicing are dominated by the battery replacement cost. Indeed, battery depreciation is the major factor in vehicle running costs.

It is therefore of paramount importance to develop batteries that not only provide the required range and performance but also have a competitive cost per mile over their life. Having concluded the first phase of the project using SLI batteries, we have now embarked upon a major evaluation program of "lightweight" traction batteries as they become available from various parts of the world. The battery evaluation program is still at an early stage; we plan to expand both the number of types and the numbers of each type on trial in order to gain a comprehensive set of data under a variety of operating conditions.

The incidence of charger faults was high in the early stages of the project and was aggravated by poor quality control in the manufacture of the 48V mains transformer. This problem has now been cured by the substitution of good quality transformers, and these replacements are proving fully reliable.

We feel that there is very substantial scope for improvement in on-board vehicle charger design, particularly with a view to reduc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing its size and weight. In this context, we are following closely the development of high frequency chargers and hope to evaluate this type of charger in the Enfield car during the next phase of the project.

The Enfield project has, over the last 2-3 years, provided us with very valuable information in two general areas: the organization of a major electric vehicle project and the technical aspects of an electric car that require further development.

There are valuable lessons to be learned in the first context, and it is to be hoped that others contemplating EV development and demonstration projects will take note of our experiences, particularly with regard to the way in which vehicles are geographically distributed. A regrouping of larger numbers of vehicles in a smaller number of locations is planned for the Enfield project, and we expect this to prove highly beneficial in terms of vehicle maintenance, project management and monitoring of results●

3.

BUSES IN FRANCE

by M. Moneuse, Electricité de France, France

Electricité de France has been experimenting with electric buses since 1972, utilizing various bus models and operating projects in several different areas.

The most important demonstration of electric buses in France has taken place in Tours. These demonstrations were developed by the local authorities in liaison with the Directors of Electricité de France. They began two years ago in January, 1976, and ended two years later in January, 1978.

A town-center route was specially created for the tests. A run of about 4.5 miles in a figure-eight shape crossed the central area of the town, where little or no service was offered by existing bus lines. After a three-month trial period, the final route was established, with the following operational conditions: flat fare: 1 Fr., free for subscribers; stops at indicated points; possibility of additional stops upon request (both to get on or off); prolonged stop at the railroad station (the central point at the center of the figure eight); service every weekday afternoon; and service frequency fixed at 10 minutes.

This line was developed to contribute to the municipal efforts by ensuring a shuttle service between car parks and the town center. The large number of people who used this line attested to its usefulness, and it is still in service.

The tests were conducted over a period of 19 months (two full years with a 2½ month interruption each summer). Total mileage was 52,100 miles. Significant statistics include:

- Number of buses in use: 4, later 3 (3.6 on average)
- Average monthly mileage: 760 miles per bus
- Average daily run: 37 miles
- Average number of people per day: 450 passengers per bus
- Energy consumption from mains: 3.6 kWh per mile (charger efficiency 83 to 85%)
- Unavailability of vehicles: 12%. Actual unavailability was much less, taking into account the presence of two reserve buses during the first year.

The Tours experiment confirmed the following points:

- A maximum speed of 28 to 31 mph is sufficient for town-center service.
- Industrial lead-acid batteries are preferable to high performance batteries (they were changed at the beginning of 1977 when the buses were modified). Loss of range is largely offset by better battery reliability. Overheating is less (consequently losses), voltage more stable.
- Partial recharges are possible in Tours at the railroad station without disturbing the operational schedule.

Criticisms made by operating staff were on maintenance difficulties with mechanical parts (brakes, suspension, steering) where old or unadapted solutions were chosen, and on difficulties in dealing with batteries. Remarks do not bring into question electric traction, which was appreciated by both drivers and passengers, despite a certain amount of noise made by the vehicles at the end of the tests.

The Tours project and other experiments made by the Study and Research Administration of Electricité de France, involving over a million kilometers for light vehicles (1.2 tons) and 102,000 miles for buses, show essentially that lead-acid batteries of approximately 40 Wh/kg are short-lived, which is highly prejudicial to operational costs of vehicles. The amount entered under the heading "battery" is already 20 to 25% of the total cost in the most favorable circumstances, whereas that under "energy" is only 5%.

Future research should be directed towards looking for a compromise between the following three parameters: size of the battery, its energy-to-weight ratio and its cycle life—resulting in lowest possible operational costs.

The environment of a lead battery will also contribute to its proper utilization.

A centralized and very reliable waterfeed system and, for certain uses, a cooling system of batteries are necessary.

The state-of-charge indicator, apart from its useful psychological role, will make it possible to use batteries for operational purposes at an optimal discharge depth. In this respect the average discharge depth ensuring longest battery life (in miles) is not known. This knowledge would make it possible to lower operating costs. It should be noted that very few state-of-charge indicators for use on urban electric vehicles are available.

To resolve these problems, new experiments on vehicles are necessary. Utility vehicles and buses can be built with present technology to provide numerous services in towns. The French Public Administration is convinced of this and is undertaking work at present on vehicles better conceived than those previously tested●

From the paper: Evaluation of Experiments on Electric Vehicles at EDF up to a Million Kilometers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Man reached the moon, as predicted, with an electric vehicle. If an electric vehicle can be got to the moon, surely it can be put on the road."

—The Rt. Hon. Lord Ironside
President of the Electric Vehicle Association of Great Britain

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

construction as it had been at the ime of the assassination. After frame 210, there was a clea shot. The camera speed was 18.3 frames per second.

Despite the fact that it was virtu.lly impossible for Oswald to see his target between frames 1 6 and 210, the acoustical tests were done on the basic assu nption that the shot that passed through President Kenned 's neck and then struck Governor Connally was fired fro the sixth floor of the TSBD Building *between frames 19(and 200 on the Zapruder film*. (Eventually frame 195 was used as a benchmark.) In making this assumption, the Committee staff ignored the common sense practicality that th gunman would not fire when his view was almost entirely obstructed by a large oak tree, and when less than one secon d later there would be a clear view of the target—a view that would continue without any further obstruction. Furthermore, the motorcade was moving relatively slowly—only 11 miles an hour—and the presidential limousine was less tha two hundred feet away from the assassination window.

In essence, then, the acoustical tests were thus constructed to try to force a square peg into a round hole by means of highly implausible assumptions.

House Committee members Samuel Devine and Bob Edgar have, like Congressman Sawyer, indicated that they have great reservations about the second-gunman theory. In particular, Congressman Edgar has consulted outside acoustical experts and has raised serious questions concerning the conspiracy conclusions of the majority of the Committee and its staff.

There is yet additional evidence which refutes the second-gunman fiction of the House Committee. For instance, as I summarized during a February 4, 1979, appearance on *Meet the Press*, there were two impulses on the tape, approximately a second apart, which the acoustical experts say represented the shot that first struck President Kennedy through the back of the neck and then passed through to hit Governor Connally. The impulse on the tape that is attributed to the so-called second gunman—assuming that the tape was made in Dealey Plaza—is less than a second from the fatal shot that struck President Kennedy's head. When one takes into consideration the reverberations of sound bouncing off the high buildings surrounding Dealey Plaza the so-called third and fourth shots were really the impulse from the fatal shot that struck the President and a second impulse from the reverberations, similar to the two impulses from the first shot that struck the President.

Since the beginning of the Committee's investigation, I have repeatedly offered to come to Washington to testify before that Committee in an open public hearing. As recently as January 19, I offered to go to Washington at my own expense to testify and stated that I could show that the acoustical experts' testimony was wrong. But the Committee never saw fit to call either one of the two Warren Commission counsel assigned to what we called Area II: the determination of who killed President Kennedy and who killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit. In the course of my work with the Warren Commission, I had more first-hand contact with the key witnesses and the physical evidence than anyone else in the world. Moreover, I had served in 1975 as Executive Director of the Rockefeller Commission investigating the CIA, where one of the issues was whether the CIA was conspiratorially involved in the assassination of President Kennedy.

I wanted to testify before the Committee in an open public hearing for several reasons. First, I believed I could make a major contribution because of my background and experience. Also, I am very much concerned about the credibility of government in general, including the credibility and standing of Congress in the minds of the American people. I believed I could help to ensure that the investigation and final report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations would stand the test of history.

To be sure, some of the conclusions of the House Committee are accurate: Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone gunman who fired the shots that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connally. He also killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Neither the CIA, the Secret Service, nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation was in any way conspiratorially involved in the assassination.

However, some of the Committee's conclusions are inaccurate—and particularly the conclusion that there was a second gunman firing from the grassy knoll. I am confident that examination of the entire record of the House Committee will not substantiate the theory of a second gunman. Nonetheless, when this inaccuracy is ultimately recognized, as I am certain it will be, in no way should the issue be forgotten, because the real import of the hasty adoption of the second-gunman theory is not just that the Committee was wrong. Rather, the crucial issue is *why* the Committee was so wrong.

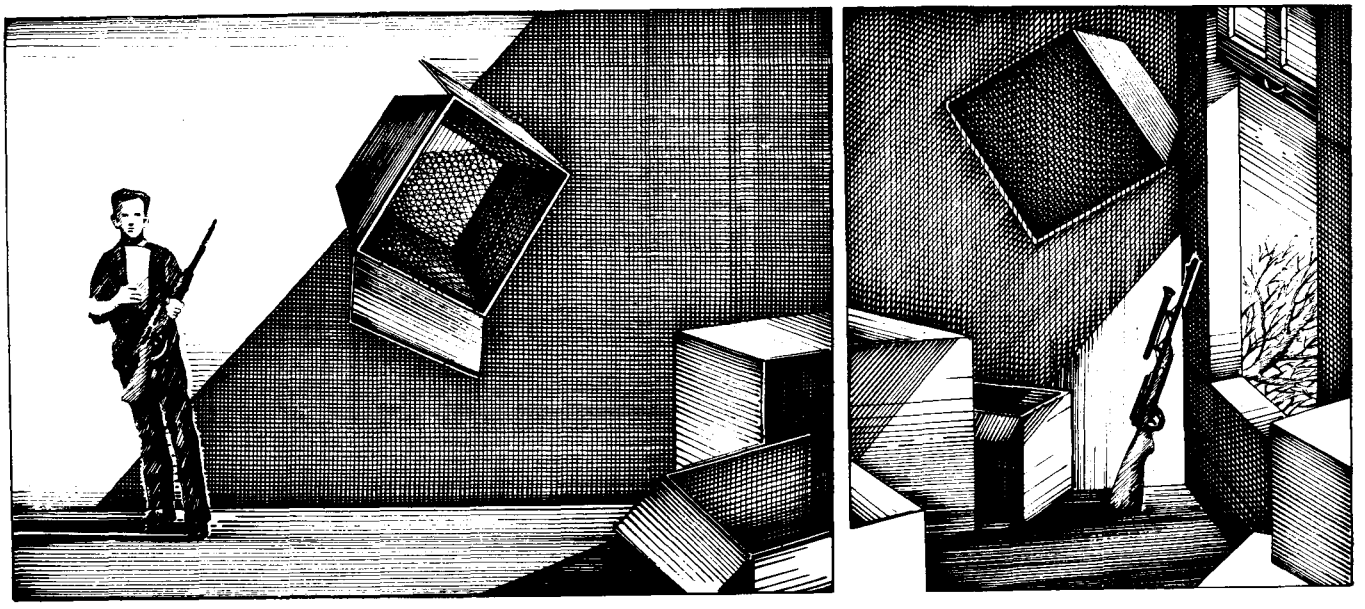
I believe there are two major reasons:

1. Almost all the investigation and hearings of the Committee were conducted behind closed doors. The press did

PHOTOGRAPH THROUGH RIFLE SCOPE

Photo courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



not have an opportunity to review and report to the American people what was taking place over the twenty-month multi-million-dollar investigation, except for some orchestrated public hearings in the fall of 1978.

2. The House Select Committee on Assassinations, like virtually all congressional committees, relied too heavily on its staff. It was the staff that basically led the Committee to reach its erroneous second-gunman conclusion.

One may ask why the staff was so intent on finding a second gunman when the record as a whole did not sustain such a conclusion. One possible hypothesis is that this enabled it to kill three birds with one stone. From a financial standpoint, this conclusion justified the expenditure of millions of dollars by the Committee. From a psychological standpoint, it enabled the staff, consciously or subconsciously, to justify its own two years of work. From a political standpoint, it took the heat off the Committee and its staff, because even though they said the FBI and the CIA were not involved, they did find a conspiracy, and they stated that their alleged second gunman was unknown. This statement left the door open for continued attacks on the CIA and the FBI. In essence, the finding of a second gunman was a sop to the group of assassination sensationalists led by Mark Lane and Robert Groden, who for years have been proclaiming Oswald's innocence in books, radio and television programs, and lectures on college campuses across the country.

There is some corroboration for this hypothesis as to why the Committee came to the second-gunman conclusion. For instance, there was great deference paid to assassination sensationalists during the course of the entire investigation. There have been suggestions that some of these people may have been paid as consultants to the Committee, although I do not know this to be the fact. However, I do know that one of the leading Warren Commission critics, Robert Groden, was given the opportunity to testify in an open public hearing, and that I was denied that same opportunity even though in recent years I have been called the leading defender of the Warren Commission report.

In addition, we know that in its findings of conspiracy the Committee and its staff made a very important distinction between possible pro-Castro and anti-Castro involvement. With reference to the anti-Castro Cuban groups, the Committee's December 29, 1978 "Summary of Findings and Recommendations" states:

> The Committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that anti-Castro Cuban groups, as groups, were not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy, *but the available evidence does not preclude the possibility that individual members may have been involved.* [Emphasis supplied.]

On the other hand, with reference to involvement of the Cuban government or pro-Castro groups, the conclusion of the Committee was merely that:

> The Committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that the Cuban government was not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy.

In other words, despite the fact that Oswald was an avowed Marxist and for years had professed great admiration for Castro both orally and in writing, the Committee made no reference to the possibility of pro-Castro groups' being involved, nor did it even state that "the available evidence does not preclude the possibility that individual members may have been involved," as it did with anti-Castro groups. The difference is particularly important in light of the determination by the Committee that it "is unable to identify the second gunman or the extent of the conspiracy."

Perhaps an even more important problem has been exposed—the dangers of secret proceedings coupled with excessive reliance on committee staffs by the Senate and House

However, although some people have expressed to me their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belief that all or some portions of this hypothesis may be true, it is purely a matter of conjecture and I would not adopt it as my own personal view. Rather, I believe that the staff was just plain wrong, and that in its haste to meet various deadlines it failed to take into consideration the overall record.

WHEN, ON November 22, 1975, I called upon Congress to reopen the Warren Commission investigation, I stated that there were two major reasons underlying my request:

1. I was confident then, as I am now, that a thorough independent investigation would reach exactly the same conclusion reached by the Warren Commission: the conclusion that, beyond a reasonable doubt, Lee Harvey Oswald killed both President John F. Kennedy and Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit. I believed that a confirmation of this correct conclusion of the Warren Commission would greatly contribute to a rebirth of confidence and trust in government.

2. I knew that a thorough and objective reopening of the Warren Commission investigation by Congress would vividly illustrate the processes by which the American public at times can be misled by sensationalism, demagoguery, and deliberate misrepresentation of the overall record—techniques that have been used by virtually all of the most vocal Warren Commission critics. I thought that the exposure of these techniques to the public could be one of the most important results of the congressional reopening of the Warren Commission investigation.

Now I must conclude that perhaps an even more important problem has been exposed—the dangers of secret proceedings coupled with excessive reliance on committee staffs by the Senate and the House.

In a recent column James Reston wrote that congressional staffs are like an "unelected hidden legislature":

> Over the years these staff members have taken on more and more responsibility—so much so that in some cases they not only seem to assist their masters but to replace them. Staff members not only write speeches but conduct hearings, draft legislation, write committee reports, negotiate conference compromises between the Houses, mobilize public opinion, and advise lawmakers on how to vote.
>
> In recent years, they have even been conducting investigations at home and abroad, sometimes on their own, without the presence of their chiefs. And with the rise of subcommittees, each with its own staff, the congressional staff bureaucracy has grown even faster than the Civil Service in many of the Executive departments.

When the staff of so important a committee as the House Select Assassinations Committee can allow an investigation of nearly two years to culminate in a hasty and erroneous conclusion, backed up by badly tilted evidence, one wonders what are the unseen consequences for the American people if the dozens of other committee and subcommittee staffs, preparing studies on national defense, taxes, inflation, education, health, agriculture, business, foreign policy, etc., are similarly failing to apply high standards of objectivity and thoroughness in their investigations and reports.

I would suggest that the issue of the "hidden legislature" is one which must be given high priority as we head into the last twenty years of this century. The need for examination is particularly great when the staffs operate behind closed doors—without the check and balance of a free press.

In reflecting upon my service as counsel to the Warren Commission and Executive Director of the Rockefeller Commission, I have developed a deep conviction that there is far too much secrecy in government. It was a mistake for the Warren Commission to hold all of its hearings in secret. When I served as Executive Director of the Rockefeller Commission, I requested that the Commission hold open meetings whenever classified matters were not subject to discussion. Unfortunately, my request was turned down by a majority of the members of the Commission.

Our Constitution provides for a checks-and-balances system of government. We all know of the inter-relationships among the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches. However, during the past two hundred years of our history, there has developed as an essential part of our free society a fourth check and balance, which interlaces with and reinforces the traditional Legislative-Executive-Judicial inter-relationships. This fourth check is a free press and the ability of that press to report to the American people the basic facts about the operations of their government.

Toward the end of its investigation the Committee staff finally contacted me and asked that I testify in a non-public hearing when neither members of the Committee nor members of the press were present

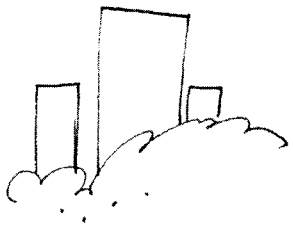
Toward the end of its investigation, the House Committee staff finally contacted me and asked that I testify in a non-public hearing when neither members of the Committee nor members of the press were present. I refused to appear behind closed doors and explained my position in a letter to the Committee and its staff. I concluded my letter with the following statement:

> . . . Because I believe so strongly in the need for this fourth check and balance, I frankly do not want to participate in any secret hearing where members of the press are not allowed. I do not necessarily believe that every single one of your hearings should have been open to the public, but I believe there is much over the past year and a half that could have been open to the public, that was not. For me to now appear in a secret hearing would be to give support to a course of action that I believe to be unsound and against the best interests of the people in a free society.

The second-gunman syndrome of the staff of the House Select Committee on Assassinations is demonstrative evidence of how a congressional staff can go wrong. Let us hope that even if the final report of the House Committee is modified, we will have learnt a lesson from the initial "Summary of Findings and Recommendations." That lesson is that we should curb the continued growth of power of congressional staffs, and we should do everything we can to prevent excessive secrecy in the operation of our government. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

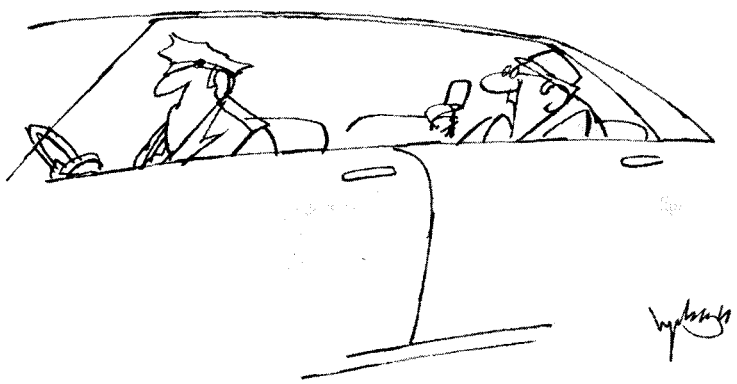
help!!!!



Hawthorne Country

No one dares to take a nip;
  Hanky-panky leaves you bleeding.
Speaking English earns a trip
  Where the guards are deaf to pleading.
Mullahs rediscover locks;
  There's a run on ankle fetters.
Gals who fancy Western frocks
  Wind up sporting scarlet letters.

W. H. von Dreele



"I'm coming home for dinner; this is your two-minute warning, Agnes."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"He's off to fight City Hall!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NIGHTMARE!

If I Were King...

S. L. VARNADO

A few nights ago I had an odd dream. In fact, it was a sort of nightmare. I dreamed that, through some Kafkaesque process, I had been transformed into President Jimmy Carter. I was completely myself, you understand, but I was also Carter. It was perplexing. Let me recount it slowly . . .

THE DREAM began peacefully enough. I awoke in a large, beautifully furnished, but totally unfamiliar bedroom. Outside, birds were singing, the sun was shining, and inside—Rosalynn Carter lay in bed beside me. I blushed, shrieked, and with a blanket wrapped around me rushed into the bathroom. I slammed the door and leaned against it, panting heavily. When I finally looked up I found myself facing the mirror. A kindly, perplexed, faintly simian countenance peered back at me. I opened my mouth. A set of immense, beautiful white teeth appeared. I began to tremble. "No . . . no . . ." I muttered. "It *can't* be."

"Jimmy," said a sleepy voice outside, "is anythin' wrong? Are you comin' outa theah soon?"

"Comin' raht out, honey," I heard myself saying. I fought down my panic. Picking up an electric toothbrush that lay before me I began to brush my teeth. The act solaced me, but it took longer than I had anticipated.

NOW THE SCENE changed (as scenes do in dreams), and I found myself seated behind a huge desk in the Oval Office. I was surrounded by my advisors, whose faces I recognized from the Evening News. Cyrus Vance approached deferentially and handed me a thick sheaf of papers.

"Glance through these, Mr. President," he said crisply. "They're the latest intelligence reports from Zabonga, Africa. The Cubans, the Russians, and the Red Chinese are sending in thousands of men, tanks, and planes. A response is in order."

"Indeed," I said, trying to sound inflexible. "Send in the Marines, Vance!"

"The Marines, Mr. President?" Vance cried, his sensitive features trembling. "But . . . but that could plunge us into war!"

"Hmmm. Well, Vance, perhaps you're right." I was beginning to sweat. "I have it. We'll send a stiff note of protest. That's it—a stiff note of protest."

Vance looked at me contemptuously. "But to whom do we send the stiff note of protest, Mr. President? If we send it to Cuba, they'll blame Russia. If we send it to Russia, they'll blame Red China."

I tugged at my collar. "Send the identical note to all three countries," I said, "and at the top put: 'To Whom It May Concern.' "

At that moment, Secretary of Defense Brown shouldered his way up to me. "Mr. President, you must make the decision on whether we are to build the B-1 bomber or the cruise missile. Here are the plans. Study them and give me your decision."

He spread an elaborate mass of blueprints on the desk before me. Blueprints mean nothing to me. I hate them. I can't even figure out the directions on a cereal box. Nevertheless, I pretend to analyze the blueprints.

"Brown," I said at last with a sigh. "I'll be honest with you. I like them both. I say that just this once we splurge: let's get both of them."

"Not a chance, Mr. President. You must choose one or the other."

"Like that, eh?" I said. "OK, then, clear the room and let me make this Command Decision alone."

When everybody was gone and I had checked the locks on the doors I came back to the plans and began to count: "Eenie, meenie, minie, moe . . ."

THE SCENE changed again and I was at a press conference. Everything began to speed up, with reporters leaping to their feet and firing questions at me.

"Mr. President," said a shrill-voiced reporter in the front row. "The OPEC nations have just raised the price of oil by $10 a barrel. Do you intend to hold down the domestic price by applying a complicated formula at the well-head, or will you slap a tariff on imported oil, or will you . . ."

"Actually," I said, "what we're going to do is shop around and see if we can find some country that has Self-Service Oil Rigs."

"Mr. President," cried another. "What will you do about the farm bloc? They are sending a Panzer division of tractors toward the White House."

"Mr. President . . . what will you do about Andrew Young? He told the *Washington Post* that you staff your peanut farm with indentured servants."

"Mr. President . . . what of the snail darters? They have undergone a wave of hybridization and are fecundating all our inland waters. The ecologists are calling for the immediate destruction of all dams . . ."

"Mr. President! Mr. President!"

I AWOKE IN my own bed—tossing, sweating, and with my wife applying an ice pack to my head. She tells me I was screaming, "Why me? Why not the best?" □

Mr. Varnado, when not dreaming, is professor of English at the University of South Alabama.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES FROM THE EAST

A Tale of Three Cities

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

THE TAXI-DRIVERS wear white gloves and refuse tips. The taxis —all of them air-conditioned—are clean and new. This is a very different culture indeed. Politeness, as well as cleanliness, seems a religion. Everything is very well organized, with a more-than-Prussian efficiency. But it is made agreeable by great politeness. Not just politeness, but actual consideration and concern. All this cheerfully.

How then to account for the extreme cruelty to enemies during the war? (And the sado-masochism so very prominent in Japanese pornography? So much consideration, solidarity, and conformity are demanded that aggressiveness, hostility, and cruelty must be repressed. Cruelty thus finds an outlet against those declared to be beyond the pale. And against the self—the suicide rate is high in Japan, whereas in the United States the homicide rate is. I find psychoanalytic speculation irresistible. But I won't pretend that I know enough about Japan to do more than convey impressions and speculations.

Tokyo is big, sprawling, and like New York—interesting for its life more than for buildings or monuments. The air is polluted, but people do not wear surgical masks as they are supposed to in Osaka. I arrived on a weekend. Restless and eager, I asked a Japanese friend to guide me through the amusement quarter. "You are out of luck," he told me. "Nothing much until Monday. On weekends businessmen are with their families; all the better amusement places are closed." The bar-girls are with their families too.

So we spend the evening going from one restaurant to another, eating one course in each. This, I'm told, is as usual in Japan as barhopping is in the States. It's interesting, but not cheap ($200 for two). There is a great variety of regional cooking available in Tokyo. But despite everything I have been told, and much sampling, I find Japanese cuisine less than fascinating.

On to Kyoto, famous for its temples. The "bullet train" moves so smoothly one hardly notices the speed—the ride certainly compares favorably with that of any American train. The landscape is flat, industrial, and dull. Kyoto is a lively modern industrial town in which the temples are no more prominent than churches are in New York. Landscaping, though, is an art: the Japanese appreciation of the aesthetic possibilities gardens offer and their manipulation of shapes and spaces is far superior to ours.

Smarter and Nicer

Although the ancient temples attract lots of Japanese tourists, they continue to function as temples: the tourists are half-hearted worshippers as well. Japanese religion appears to be mainly a set of customs and respectful gestures, or favor-seeking. The conception of supernatural powers is vague and superstitious, hardly religious in the Western sense. The Japanese are very polite to their ancestors, and to the supernatural. They believe in politeness. It takes the place of true speculative or analytical thought, which is rare. The temples themselves are less than impressive to me. Sorry. I know this is not the expected reaction—one is supposed to admire the art of other cultures, thereby demonstrating one's broad-mindedness and understanding. But I see no reason why the art of one culture—or period—may not be superior to that of another, just as its mathematics may be. Anyway, I don't mind being narrow-minded —I know too many broad-minded people.

Unimpressed as I am with the monuments of Japan's past that I've seen—too few certainly for more than a provisional opinion—I find the Japanese present impressive indeed; its future overwhelming. This was an undeveloped country not long ago, and it was destroyed during the war. Now Japan's per capita income is as high as ours.

I met a number of academicians in the social sciences and concluded that the smart people prefer to go into business. I detect no great accomplishment in these scholars' writings, either. Much Marxist claptrap. Even the more reasonable scholars are rather mediocre. Somehow theory formation seems to go against the Japanese grain. Outside the social sciences—as in technology, where there is a strong motivation to overcome the past avoidance of theory—the Japanese are already making contributions. They certainly are capable. Japanese children have higher IQs than American children—on American tests. And the Japanese do make very good use of imported innovations—not just technology, but art as well. They will make contributions to Western music; many of them already are quite accomplished performers. Politically, economically, and socially Japan gained more from losing the war than we did from winning it.

The country has a remarkably low crime rate—and very high conviction and punishment rates. Japan's crime rate is still declining—everywhere else it is rising. Japan also has the fewest lawyers per capita of any country I know of. Perhaps there is a causal connection. Industry too seems to get along with rather few lawyers, whereas we produce more lawyers and criminals all the time—and convict an ever smaller proportion of the latter. It is not just that the Japanese commit few crimes. In the ordinary business of life they are far nicer to one another and more honest than we are. They also believe in the work ethic. To them (unlike to Americans) it never was inconsistent with hedonism. On the contrary, one supplements the other—they are for different times and different places.

II

On to Taiwan—which is, incidentally, a favored Japanese vacation spot. An authoritarian regime, certainly not a totalitarian one—nothing like, say, Hungary or Czechoslovakia or Poland. And unlike any of these countries Taiwan flourishes economically—with growth

Mr. van den Haag's most recent book is Punishing Criminals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rates of 10 per cent a year not unusual. The government leaves enough freedom to bring prosperity to this island, which is nearly bereft of natural resources. The distribution of income is not particularly unequal; land reform has helped the peasants greatly; industrial development, particularly of export industries, could scarcely be better; a cautious monetary policy has prevented inflation. I cannot judge the quality of education, but there certainly is a lot of it. Many of the university teachers are American-trained. The legal system is largely patterned after the West German one, and it works. Crime rates are low.

Something Missing

I don't envy the people in charge of tourism in Taiwan. The modern tourist is not content just to be in a foreign country and to savor its life. He has, or takes, too little time to savor. He wants to see and above all to photograph specific things which somehow are to be the essence of the trip. So the tourist agencies have to invent sights for sightseers—even if there is little to see. And that is the case in Taiwan. Many of the ancient cities of the world are full of noteworthy monuments, memorable churches, and great works of art. But not so Taipei (nor New York). These are modern cities, remarkable for their life and their achievements, not for monuments of ancient culture. They are pleasant to inhabit or to visit, but there is hardly any individual aesthetically remarkable thing to see. So in Taiwan one is taken to briefings and industrial plants and finally to see this lake or that gorge . . . a way to spend the time, but not much more.

However, Taiwan has a treasure house of Chinese art and antiquities in the National Museum that Chiang Kai-shek built to display the treasures he brought along from the Mainland. A great collection.

The museum both fascinates and depresses. What ingenuity, what exquisite craftsmanship, what delicate taste! How admirably advanced the Chinese culture was—with elaborate and aesthetically pleasing household implements being created when Europe still was in the stone age. One walks through the museum delighted by tea cups and vases, jewelry and ornamental headdresses, and, occasionally, a realistic figure or a beautiful decorative screen.

But as one continues one begins to miss something. There is no art here in the Western sense of the word—no art intended as revelation about the human career on earth, no art as an emblem of the divine, no art pointing to, let alone embodying, a transcendence of quotidian life, no art even celebrating it. No, the Chinese, at best, have decorated it. They are earthbound, terribly earthbound; pragmatic, intelligent . . . but not really, it seems, interested in anything much besides moral rules for rulers and for subjects (Confucius), practical rules on how to court fortune and happiness, and handicrafts to make life comfortable and pleasant. There are speculations about a supernatural world, but they do not reach the level of philosophy or theology or any sort of coherent theory. Indeed, like the Japanese, the Chinese culture is not much interested in theoretical speculation. Hence, there was but little mathematics and, like other theoretical disciplines, it was never developed. That too, I suspect, is why art, however exquisite, never went beyond the quotidian and decorative. There never was anything for the artist to celebrate, no transcendent idea to embody. Charming, *chatoyant*, exquisite, ingenious, elaborate —but something missing at the center.

III

Hong Kong. An incredibly beautiful setting for a very lively, modern city. Everybody at work. A 10 per cent yearly growth rate. Cheap ferry, streetcar rides. (Taxis are hard to get.) Wages, low by American standards, are high by Asian standards. The English civil service administers the city. It does an excellent job by doing very little (except in the matter of housing) and leaving almost everything to the market. There is more economic freedom than in England or in the United States. The government usually has a surplus, although taxes are low. The Hong Kong dollar is solid. The stock market flourishes. So does real-estate speculation. (All land is owned by the Crown, but it can be leased.) Hong Kong has the only public housing I've ever seen that actually works: mostly inhabited by Chinese refugees, clean and diligent. The free market seems to make for more racial harmony than all our legislation.

Meanwhile, Hong Kong has absorbed millions of refugees from China. It now tries to discourage their entry, but it does not return them to China—unlike Macao, the Portuguese colony, which is so dominated by Red China that it returns the few refugees who manage to enter.

Hong Kong is vigorous, even frantic. Yet all the traditional English civil liberties and opportunities are cultivated—a good illustration, as Milton Friedman remarked to me, of the important distinction between freedom and democracy. In Hong Kong, all decisions are made by the civil service, which is not elected. If democracy involves decision-making by elected representatives —parliaments, presidents, city councils— Hong Kong doesn't have any. Yet there is an abundance of freedom for all. And (consequently?) little interest in politics.

Personal Liberties

If there were democracy there might be less individual freedom, for, in all likelihood, the majority would restrict individual actions in favor of the usual welfare measures. Even with us, I doubt that democratic decision-making reflects the will of the people more, or is necessarily better, than other ways of decision-making would be. It is the personal liberties democracy supports that I'm interested in. And these are supported in Hong Kong by the civil service as a matter of (English) tradition and principle. Hong Kong benefits from (perhaps even survives because of) the English tradition of its rulers. Unfortunately this would probably not work for a major country. Unless the place is small, tradition strong, and the population otherwise occupied, democracy may be indispensable to guarantee the personal freedoms that make it all worth while. And democracy lately has tended to restrict economic freedom— and therewith prosperity—and to make inflation all but unavoidable. (Not everywhere: Switzerland is an exception, and so is West Germany.) Hong Kong is doubly fortunate in benefiting from a democratic tradition, without the burdens and drawbacks of majority government. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cuts and Balances

CUTTING TAXES and reducing the public outlay continue to be the leading issues of our politics, though it is taking Congress a while to come up with a substantive response. This is in keeping with its usual procedure in such matters, which is long on promises at election time but short on action when the balloting is over.

One area in which the lawmakers find their hands are being forced, however, is that of balanced budgets. With relatively little fanfare, a resolution on this matter has been wending its way through the legislatures of the several states. If adopted by 34 of them it would require Congress either to call a constitutional convention to draft a balanced-budget amendment to our fundamental law, or else to write an amendment of its own and start it on its way to ratification.

To date, according to the estimates made by the National Taxpayers Union (NTU), 29 states have adopted valid resolutions on this subject. If the count is accurate, and if there are no legal problems from divergent wordings, the budget balancers are only five states shy of the required majority. In the current climate of opinion, this does not appear to be a formidable number, and the NTU is predicting another ten or 12 states will come aboard in 1979.

As this prospect has become more likely, people in Washington have been galvanized to action. Advocates of unrestricted government are launching a vehement attack on the proposal, contesting both the balanced-budget idea and the call for a convention. Senators Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy have weighed in for the negative, as have President Carter and House Republican leader John Rhodes. The balancing requirement is described as a "mechanical straitjacket," while the convention idea is depicted as a Pandora's box which would permit a wholesale revamping of the Constitution.

On the first point, suffice it to observe that 81 per cent of the American people believe a balanced budget is a good idea and do not consider it an imposition on state prerogatives. On the second, it should be noted that any amendment drafted by a convention would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states before it could enter the Constitution—a requirement which, as backers of the ERA have found, is not so easily met.

Even more to the point, it is unlikely that such a convention will ever be held; the more probable outcome is that, as pressure for the amendment mounts, Congress itself will approve such a measure and set the ratification machinery in motion. This is both the intent of the forces promoting the state resolutions and the most convenient way for Congress to assuage the mounting public sentiment on the issue.

TO THIS END, various legislators have come up with balanced-budget bills and/or amendments to the Constitution. Among those who have proposed such measures are Senators Armstrong of Colorado, Byrd of Virginia, DeConcini and Goldwater of Arizona, Dole of Kansas, Lugar of Indiana, McClure of Idaho, Roth of Delaware, Stennis of Mississippi, and Talmadge of Georgia. On the House side, sponsors of the balanced-budget idea include Archer of Texas, Ashbrook of Ohio, Bafalis of Florida, Collins of Texas, Crane of Illinois, Gramm of Texas, Grassley of Iowa, Jacobs of Indiana, Latta of Ohio, and numerous others.

Fairly typical is the Armstrong-Bafalis resolution (S. J. Res. 7, H. J. Res. 14), which would require a balanced federal budget in every fiscal year, and has 121 co-sponsors in the lower chamber. It would permit deficit spending only in times of war or national emergency, and only if three-fourths of both houses of Congress vote to lift the constitutional restriction. The suspension would be effective only for a two-year period, at which time the balancing requirement would automatically be reinstated. Also, the amendment would require the reduction of the national debt at a rate of 1 per cent a year. As Bafalis puts it, the proposed amendment "will give Congress the flexibility needed to deal with war or other bona-fide national emergencies. Yet it is strict enough to keep the Congress from willy-nilly decisions to ignore the public's demand for fiscal responsibility."

Most of the other resolutions and amendments consist of variations on these themes. One interesting and ingenious wrinkle is the proposal of Indiana's Lugar (S. J. Res. 4), which attacks the problem from the standpoint of congressional procedure. Lugar suggests requiring a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress in order to adopt a deficit budget. This approach has the virtues of simplicity and clarity, since it requires no mathematical calculations of GNP growth or budgetary levels.

Besides, says Lugar, "There is ample precedent, in the spirit and the letter of our laws, to require a two-thirds vote to counteract the temptation of short-sighted actions. Our democracy rests in many important ways upon extraordinary majorities to combat the tendency for the concerns of the present to overwhelm wise and far-sighted courses of action. There is every reason to believe that if the framers of our Constitution had envisioned our current budgetary policies, they would have written into law a special form of restraint."

NOTE. A conservative criticism of the balanced-budget goal is that it can be achieved by raising taxes as well as by lowering expenditures, so that the balancing requirement as such is not a sovereign remedy for our ills. This is true enough. But the temptation to deficit-finance at this point is clearly stronger than the temptation to vote an overt increase in our federal taxes. Also, limits on the taxing side of the equation, discussed in previous installments of this column, are quite compatible with balanced budgets. One may in perfectly good conscience lend one's support to both. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Seeds of Disintegration

Out of This World

MALACHI B. MARTIN

TODAY, A LARGE majority of social movements and powerful interests are not merely acting without regard for religion and morality: they are acting on the assumption that religion and the morality attendant on religious belief are to be disenfranchised and outlawed as a basis for social and political action.

One long-standing example of this is the ever more fiercely fought battle between pro-abortionists and pro-lifers. A consistent and deliberate effort has been made to identify the pro-life position exclusively with Catholicism and, *on that basis*, to declare the pro-life position outlaw. The evident bias of the *New York Times* and other powerful media has frequently been taken to task for this deliberate obfuscation.

But the latest and most glaring example of the general decision to leave religion out of consideration has been provided by the leaders of "women's liberation" and their reaction to the infant regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Kate Millett went to Iran to demonstrate with some Iranian women in favor of their being permitted to wear Western clothing. Gloria Steinem declared the solidarity of the women's movement all over the world with the women in Iran who want to wear Western dress. Millett called the Ayatollah a male chauvinist. And Steinem capped the onslaught when she said ominously that the women's movement may send a "fact-finding" commission to Iran—presumably to look for "facts" that would support the position of the dissident women of Iran.

In all of this, Millett and Steinem and their movement appear to be but a microcosm of the world in which they move and, increasingly, of the entire manner of thinking in the U.S.A. For it is to be doubted that Millett has any precise knowledge of Islam—even that the word itself expresses the most important element of its religious belief, submission—or that she knows anything about Muslims, the Submissive Ones. Nowhere can you read any statement from Millett recognizing that the Ayatollah and his regime may have a very legitimate problem in trying to reconcile the will of the dissident Iranian women with the avowed religious and spiritual beliefs of Muslims.

Actually, the Ayatollah is confronting head-on a problem which his fellow Muslims in the formerly flourishing Lebanon sinfully ignored, and to escape which his counterparts in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states are hiding their heads in the sand. It is a problem with dire consequences for the United States. The impact of Western science and technology on the Muslim mind could, if allowed to happen indiscriminately, disrupt every social bond and every moral mold that is at present ensuring peaceful development among over 300 million Muslims all over the world. The ensuing fragments would be sucked into the roaring vortex of Marxist sentiment gathering strength every year in the Third World. The Ayatollah's Iran is a first fateful proving ground. On what the Ayatollah achieves, much depends.

Analogy of Fascism

But, for Millett and her movement, in this arena, as in the arenas of abortion, divorce, homosexuality, and whatever else, the one element to be completely barred from any consideration is the element of religion and spiritual belief. The "facts" to be found and entertained are external only and are defined exclusively by her own aims and goals. "Everything is all right if it suits my ideas, no matter what you may think or believe," is the watchword. Those who lived through the Fascism of the Thirties will easily recognize the hateful lineage of Millett's point of view. For her, any religious influence that would argue against her position is repressive and negative, and constitutes a religion seeking to impose its will on everyone.

The conclusion to be drawn—and many do draw it—is that it is fine for anyone to seek to impose his will on everyone else so long as there is no vestige of religious belief involved, and so long as his point of view is totally a-religious and a-moral in the exact meaning of those words. Now, this is not to point a finger solely at Millett or the "women's liberation" movement. To cite them as examples here is merely to say that they are moving in step with the large majority of powerful secular interests today. Religious-minded people and those who wish to model their lives on moral rules emanating from religious belief are increasingly confronted by these powerful groups that eschew all absolutes, except one: neither religion nor morality has any relevance to political life or to the goals of social action. These cannot be described as morally good or morally bad, only as legal or illegal.

A Resentful Majority

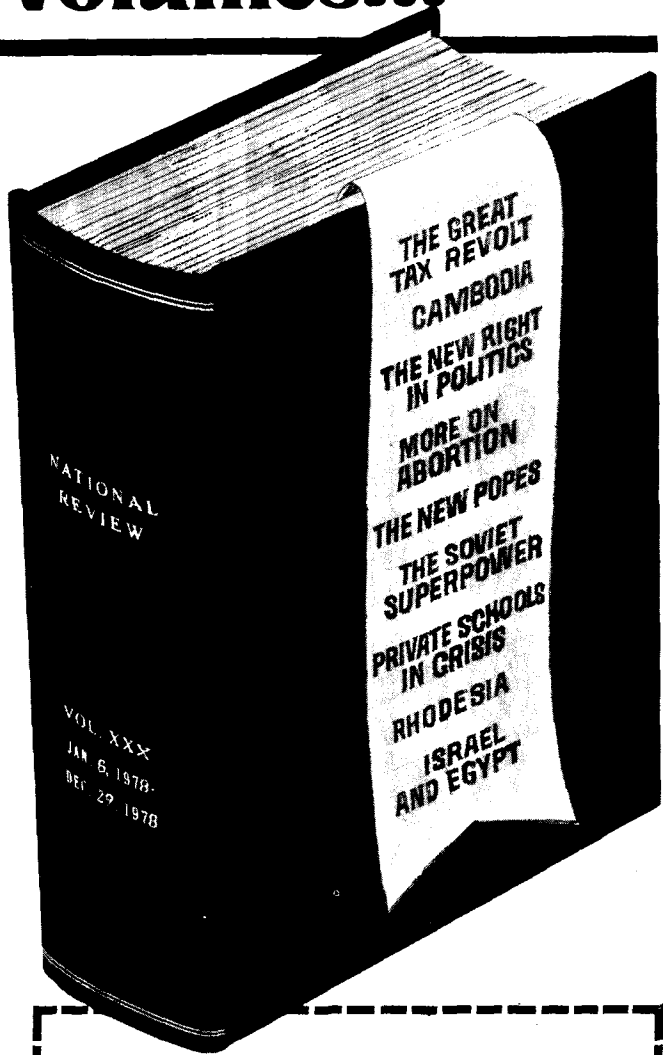
The prime question which arises out of the foregoing is not whether Islam can survive in Iran or elsewhere, nor whether the spirit of religion is undergoing the most methodical onslaught in its history. It concerns rather the ever-building resentment of those who know they are being disenfranchised across the board because they are believers, and who refuse to accept that fate. Herein lie the seeds of a strife which could turn out to be the only real danger to the American Union under the Constitution.

Many commentators think that potentially the most divisive element on the American political scene is the abortion question. But what must be remembered is that on this issue only a fraction of the religious-minded and believing American population has been aroused. If once it dawned on the actual millions of believers that they, indeed, were the targets of exclusion *because of their beliefs*, then the ensuing rift in our society could well strain it far beyond its structural strength, threatening with irreparable dissolution that unity of wills without which the Union cannot subsist. For this would be no mere swing to the right, but a repoliticization of religion, and the identification of Americanism with some form of Christianity. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you've ever given a thought to starting your own collection of NR Bound Volumes...

Here's the perfect one to begin with



Yes, now is the time to start your own invaluable collection with this new edition. **National Review's** Bound Volume XXX is your *permanent* record of a very important year. It contains every word of NR and the BULLETIN too, so you get complete coverage. It's history that cannot be rewritten, recorded just as it happened. Everything you'll want (and *need*) to know about the important events of '78 is right here at your fingertips, fully indexed for quick, easy reference. And there's a built-in bonus—this is one book that gets more valuable with every year that passes.

Children Especially Benefit

Children particularly benefit from having these Bound Volumes available to them (it's the reason why more and more parents of young children are starting their own collections). They'll learn more about 1978 here than they'll ever learn in school. These books have the unique effect of taking history out of the cobwebs and making it something that happened—a powerful antidote to any future "revisionism." Also, NR can give them a taste for the kind of reading material that will benefit them for the rest of their lives.

It's Still A Bargain

The price for Bound Volume XXX, despite inflation, has been held down to $35. That makes it a real bargain for such a valuable book and one that simply shouldn't be missed. So start *your* collection now with this handsome library-style volume, bound in rich maroon roxite and imprinted in 24-carat gold. It's a delight to the eye and a prize addition to your own permanent library. You may pay with order or enclose a $10 deposit and we'll bill you for the balance when we ship your copy. Just fill in the coupon and mail it to us today. This is a case where you and your whole family really will be glad you did—for years to come.

National Review
Bound Volume Dept.
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Gentlemen:

Please send a copy of National Review Bound Volume XXX (@ $35 per volume) to me at the address below. I understand that you will pay all postage and handling.

☐ I enclose payment in full of $35.00

☐ I enclose a $10.00 deposit. Bill me later for the balance of $25.00

Name _____ please print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everything Outside Is Red

RICHARD BROOKHISER

To Build a Castle—My Life as a Dissenter
By Vladimir Bukovsky
Viking, 438 pp., $17.50

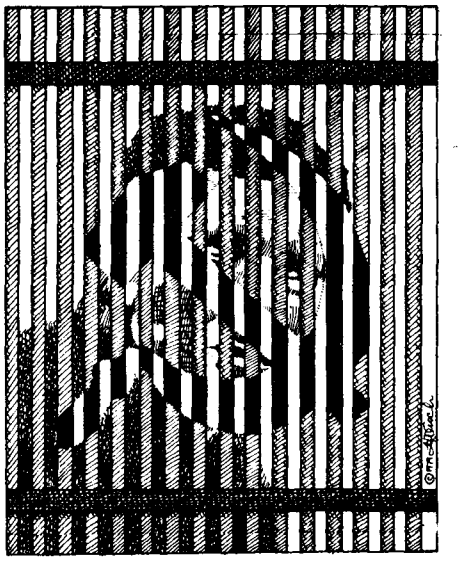
Coming Out of the Ice
By Victor Herman
Harcourt, Brace, 369 pp., $12.95

Albert Jay Nock once wondered how a man could decide whether he was living in a Dark Age. These two books, one by a sixty-year-old American, the other by a forty-year-old Russian, give evidence on the twentieth century, and it is not good. They explore that rich and still largely unmapped territory, "Horrors: Communist Division"; and they prove, what Conquest and Solzhenitsyn have already demonstrated, that a man may be arrested anywhere between Rostock and Saigon and subjected to tortures that would have blackened the reputation of Turkish Bulgaria or the Congo Free State.

Victor Herman, author of *Coming Out of the Ice*, came to the twentieth century in a roundabout way. His father was arrested for running guns in Czarist Russia (one of the photographs shows him with fellow revolutionaries, posing in stiff collars and waistcoats like the directors of a small-town library). In 1909, the gun-runner escaped to Detroit. Victor was born, third child of four, in 1915. Sixteen years later, Henry Ford, capitalist, made the Herman family, Communists, a fateful offer. Ford was opening a factory in Nizhni-Novgorod, for the joint profit of himself and the Five Year Plan. He needed skilled workers (which meant Americans), and Russian-speaking Americans to serve as managers. The Hermans signed a three-year contract and sailed from New York to Leningrad on two ships, the *Leviathan* and the *Siberia*. When the contract ran out in 1934, they stayed on. In 1938, Victor was arrested as a spy.

There followed 17 years of prisons, labor camps, and "internal exile" in Siberia. Herman was beaten with belts and clubs, rapped on the temples with pencils, punched in the kidneys until he passed blood. He chopped trees and mined phosphorus. He starved to semi-blindness and ate rats caught in outhouses. When the tips of his toes became frost-bitten, a camp doctor snipped them off with a pair of scissors.

Almost as disgusting as the brutality of the tortures was the pettiness of the torturers (unless indeed pettiness and brutality are sometimes the same thing—is not concern with the diet and internal organs of an enemy the height of pettiness?). Soviet functionaries rejected lengthy petitions because of single misspelled words, and harassed Herman when he was in exile in Siberia for refusing to coach the local track team of the security police. They even made bad jokes. "Tolya worked the pencil and Belov worked the pliers. Tolya moved the pencil from crease to crease and then he squeezed two fingers together, and when he had them good and tight, Belov gripped the pencil in the jaws of the pliers and turned. All the skin was off by dawn. . . . And when I stood to go, Belov said, 'Look, prisoner.' He pointed to the top of [his] desk. 'You see?' he said. 'Clean.' And then he tapped each of my hands with the pencil. 'You see?' he said. 'Clean too.' "



THE VICTIMS of this system were skillfully played off against one another. Political prisoners—"spies," Christians, and other traitors—rested powerless at the bottom of the Gulag hierarchy, while the criminals—the thieves and murderers—enjoyed whatever comforts they could bribe or steal and were expected to discipline the recalcitrant "politicals" in return. After 55 nights of fruitless interrogation, Herman's frustrated guards put him in a cell full of *urkas*, wolfbloods. Herman earned their respect (and his life) only after pummeling two of them and killing a third.

Such experiences are bound to change the men who pass through them. Millions changed in the simplest way—they died. Herman survived, but he wonders from time to time what may have been killed in him. "That's what a prisoner is," he observes at one point, "—a man who at first can't believe it, and then he gets good at it, and then proud of getting good at what he could not believe." He also wonders about the universe which made him a prisoner. Herman accidentally shot himself in the

Farley Clinton *is a free-lance observer of present-day mores, from St. Louis to Vatican City. . . .* **David Evanier** *is a critic and novelist.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP WANTED. National Review needs new readers. If you know anyone (friends, relatives or business associates) you think should be reading National Review, use the handy card facing this page to introduce them to NR *today*. There is no better place for them to find that happy balance to the liberal news media than in NR. Especially *now* during this crucial period of the Carter Administration when the need for the "other side" of the news is greater than ever. You can introduce someone to NR at the special low rate of just $7.50 for ten big issues (twenty weeks). Don't miss this opportunity to do a friend a favor—a favor that may well have a lasting impact. Your friend will appreciate it, and so will we.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liver as a teenager—the kind of wound a torturer would exploit as a miner works a lode of ore. Herman's interrogator, however, disliked the touch of naked flesh—he pulled on a pair of gloves before every beating, and never made Herman strip—and so the injury remained undiscovered. "Is it God I owe," he asks, "that the scar stayed hidden from Belov? Or is it God I owe that Belov lived to hurt me?"

But *Coming Out of the Ice* offers no answers. While in Siberia, Herman married a beautiful young woman and fathered two children. Years of effort and the persistence of an American cousin finally brought him, then his family, to the United States. He survived, stubbornly and sturdily, and this is his record.

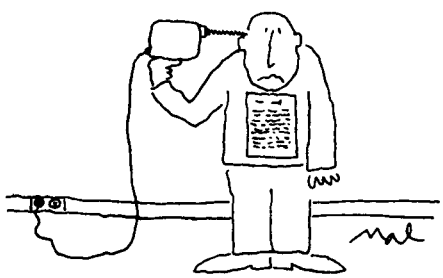
Some of these horrors had abated by the early Sixties, when Vladimir Bukovsky first entered prison. Men still mutilated themselves in order to avoid working in the forests (inhaling powdered sugar and shooting up with fish fat were also popular gambits—the first simulated TB, and the second caused a fever). But the power of the *urkas* had been broken; security police were occasionally personable, at least in Moscow; and one could write petitions from camps, and even get answers.

Pragmatism, explains Bukovsky in *To Build a Castle*, dictated these ameliorations. The authorities finally moved against the criminal underworld in the mid-Fifties because the level of professional crime had become intolerable; and they softened the Stalinist police state out of pure self-interest: "The implacable logic of terror is such that as it increases it becomes uncontrollable and is usually turned against the terrorists themselves. . . . Mass terror was simply no longer possible—the ruling clique's instinct for self-preservation had done the trick."

The effects of these changes extended far beyond the camps. Freed from the pressure of omnipresent and whimsical terror, the Russian people lapsed into a kind of sophisticated impotence. They knew that Communism was a fraud, but they were not capable of acting on their knowledge; and so managers stole, workers idled, and both drowned their ambivalence in drink. This suited the post-Stalin government just fine: "Nobody insists that you like this regime or even believe in it—it's enough for you to fear it, submit to it, [and] raise your hand at meetings."

Clearly Bukovsky is a thinker as well as an observer. His thoughts first came to the notice of the authorities when he was in high school. In 1961, he was expelled from Moscow University for attending readings of unpublished poetry in Mayakovsky Square. Two years later, he entered his first mental hospital.

Bukovsky subsequently became the first dissident to tell the West that Soviet psychiatry had become an instrument of the KGB. Political psychiatry, indeed, allowed the regime to regain some of the leverage it had lost by forswearing mass terror. "The theoretical 'scientific' base," Bukovsky notes, "had long been prepared. In the conditions of socialism . . . there were no social causes of criminality; therefore, any anti-legal act was *ipso facto* a mental aberration." Hospital discipline was indistinguishable from torture: "Dr. Pozdnyakov had two favorite devices. . . . 'Three on five' was three injections of 5 cc. of sulfazine, two in the buttocks and one under the shoulder blade: after this, the feverish victim felt as if he were being crucified. . . . The 'riding breeches' was a procedure for pumping the thighs full of saline solution, so that they swelled up and looked exactly like riding breeches."



Bukovsky blames these ills not on Lenin and Stalin, not even on Marx, but on the utopian socialists of the nineteenth century. It is hard to recall, decades after the fact, how confidently the first socialists (and many of their Liberal predecessors) expected the old order to pass away. The gentlest of them even expected—with equal confidence—to create the new order through education, not force. But there is a hidden corollary here, and Bukovsky draws it out like a dentist coaxing a tooth:

RANDOM NOTES

■ The Sports Pages: Sparky Lyle, with the help of Peter Golenbock, greets the beginning of the baseball season with a Jim Bouton-like account of his stormy years with the New York Yankees in *The Bronx Zoo* (Crown, $8.95). Red Sox fans take note. . . . Meantime, over at the Manhattan Zoo, *New York Times* sports columnist Dave Anderson has collected his favorite work from the past decade, in *Sports of Our Times* (Random House, $10). Baseball and Muhammad Ali are affectionately evoked.

■ Left Over from April: Pulitzer Prize-winning authors Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele probe achievement and psychosis in the interminable (671-page) *Empire: The Life, Legend, and Madness of Howard Hughes* (Norton, $15.95). . . . *The Singapore Grip* (Knopf, $11.95) by J. G. Farrell is a fictionalized, engrossing account of the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in World War II.

■ May Marches In: The trial and tragedy of Patty Hearst are reported and reflected upon by journalist Shana Alexander, formerly of *Newsweek* and *60 Minutes*, in *Anyone's Daughter* (Viking, $14.95). Miss Hearst, says Miss Alexander, was as much a victim of the FBI, her family, and her lawyer as of the SLA. . . . Edited by Herta Ramthun and translated by John Willett, *Bertolt Brecht: Diaries 1920-22* (St. Martin's, $8.95) contains the musings and prejudices of the playwright in his early twenties. . . . Jessica Mitford instructs investigative journalists through the example of her collected essays in *Poison Penmanship: The Gentle Art of Muckraking* (Knopf, $10). Following each essay—they were published in magazines over the course of twenty years—Miss Mitford includes some updated commentary. Carl Bernstein, of Watergate fame, has written an Afterword.

The Year of the French (Holt, Rinehart, $12.95) by Thomas Flanagan is actually about the Irish, who exploit British vulnerability after the revolt of the American colonies in order to rebel. The French merely help, in this heavily promoted novel. . . . Jack Harrison Pollack examines the train-wreck of American criminal justice left to us by *Earl Warren: The Judge Who Changed America* (Prentice-Hall, $14.95). . . . *Legends of the Fall* (Delacorte, $10.95) is a collection of three well-written novellas by Jim Harrison.

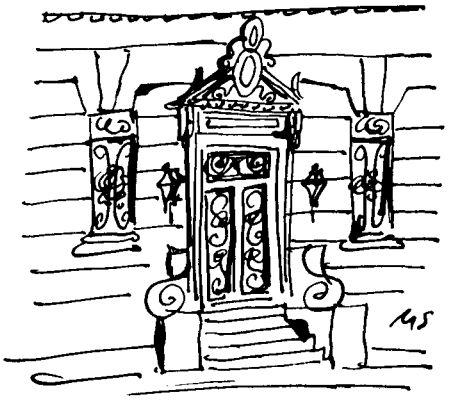
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if education is to be effective, it must be enforced. Thus "the amazing, naïve, and inhuman faith of all socialists in the power of re-education transformed our school years into a torture and covered the country with concentration camps." The only remedy for the utopian mind is a stiff dose of laissez-faire. "You have to learn to respect the right of even the most repulsive and insignificant individual to live the way he chooses. You have to renounce once and for all the criminal belief that you can re-educate everyone in your own image."

The argument wavers when Bukovsky comes to drawing out the practical political consequences of his individualism. Russians, he insists, must demand the rights supposedly granted by their Constitution. They must hold the Soviet state to the letter of its laws and deny its legitimacy when it reneges. They must stand Thoreau on his head and practice civil *obedience*. This is a hopeless program, of course, and Bukovsky knows it. If General Pinochet had not offered to trade Chilean Communist Luis Corvalán for Bukovsky in 1976, the only result of his idealism would have been a vain and early death. The world would be poorer by one fine mind, and the Kremlin would remain, unshaken. Bukovsky argues convincingly, however, that the only other alternatives—reform from within and underground politicking—are equally futile, and immoral as well. Reformers who work with a totalitarian system become collaborators; while revolutionaries who go underground grow into "Bolsheviks of a different color."

Yet there are moments when Bukovsky's exposition turns tinny and astringent. He discovers, during one of his brief intervals of freedom, that his old friends, all married, are no longer willing to put their lives on the line. "The former man," he writes, "had disappeared. All that remained was a man-unit, who could not quite walk upright on his own limbs without additional support from a pram." It is a nagging, unpleasant tone, the kind of thing one expects from minor modern poets or grad-student Robespierres, not refugees from hell. If men are as hard to re-educate as Bukovsky thinks, it may be because certain impulses lie in their nature; and one of these may be the impulse to push prams. This is not to say that the family is the highest good—only to put a realistic price on heroism, and to demand from heroes like Bukovsky the hope of a reasonable pay-off. If Bukovsky's program is to change anything other than the souls of those who embrace it, it will have to be taken up by people who are not unmarried intellectuals; and if they are to sacrifice their loved ones—as they surely must—then they will have to be given a better slogan than the integrity of the Soviet Constitution, and a deeper justification than *mere* human rights.

Bukovsky's second political prescription—for the West—seems even more fantastic. "Neither atom bombs nor bloody dictatorships, nor theories of 'containment' or 'convergence,' will save the democracies. . . . The only correct solution [is] opposition." The Pentagon, the National Security Council, and Anthony Lewis could *all* agree on that one. Yet I am inclined to give this



round to Bukovsky; for the second-largest arms stockpile in the world is worthless if America forgets why it was accumulated; and it would be unnecessary today if thousands of Americans—from Henry Ford to Alger Hiss—had not poured money, wheat, and state secrets into the country we now ask Peking to save us from. The atrophy of the moral sense is as much a symptom of a Dark Age as "riding breeches" and rat-eating.

I give the last word to Victor Herman. Three-quarters of the way through *Coming Out of the Ice*, his guards make him kneel in the snow while they eat lunch out of tin cans. When Herman is permitted to rise, he breaks down for the first time in the book. "The labels on those cans—there were three of them—*Franco-American Spaghetti, Campbell's Pork and Beans, Dinty Moore's Beef Stew*." □

Christian Humanism: A Critique of the Secular City and Its Ideology
By Thomas Molnar
Franciscan Herald Press, 172 pp., $7.95

PIETY FOR THE FUTURE

M. J. SOBRAN

Secular humanism (as Irving Kristol has pointed out) is virtually an established religion, with the added advantage (as James Hitchcock has pointed out) that it doesn't suffer the disabilities currently imposed on acknowledged religions.

At one time it was plausible to say that this humanism was common sense, plus a little science and history: reason herself as she speaks when liberated from superstition and dogma. It was the light at the end of the tunnel of the Christian era, when man would return to the sunny rationality of the ancients, a condition enhanced by modern scientific method. This view is expressed in the very names given to historical eras: Dark Ages, Renaissance, Enlightenment.

Specialists in these areas have long since found that such terms fit only very loosely, at best. A new historiography, exemplified in the work of Eric Voegelin, has suggested a radically new scheme, in which humanism is found to be, not mere secularism, but a positive creed, an ideology, informed by the Christian heresy of Gnosticism, and even traceable to that heresy as promulgated in the twelfth century by Joachim of Flora.

JOACHIM predicted the advent of a new "Age of the Spirit," in which man would outgrow the need for Christian and ecclesiastical authority and achieve an autonomous perfection. Although modern humanism adopts profane accents, its structure remains that of the old heresy, so it is not strange that secular humanism should find allies within the church from which the heresy sprang in the first place. Hence the phenomenon of Christian humanism, which cooperates with the superficially secular brand in seeking to impose utopian regimes. The superficiality of the differences is apparent in that formal credal positions seldom inhibit that cooperation. The distinction between a George

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McGovern and a Robert Drinan seems merely sartorial.

In *Christian Humanism*, Thomas Molnar sketches the shape and history of that ideology. He wisely reminds us that many of the ancients were offended by Christianity in the first place because of the very "humanism" of the Incarnation: what an indignity for a god to become a mortal! It was like becoming a head of lettuce. Given this apparent derogation of divine transcendence, it was inevitable that humanistic excess should become a permanently tempting position for Christians.

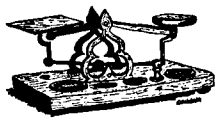
MOLNAR finds adumbrations not only in Joachim but in more familiar figures like Nicholas of Cusa, William of Ockham, and Pico della Mirandola. Contrary to modern mythology, the Renaissance's optimism about human potential was not a return to paganism, whose fatalism (cf. Homer, Aeschylus, Aristotle, Vergil, Seneca) gave little warrant for faith in human perfection or general progress. Ancient man saw himself as locked into the natural order. Pico saw man as "fashioner of his own being," or, as Molnar puts it, "a pure indeterminacy": a phrase that places Pico nearer to Sartre than to Sophocles. *Christian Humanism* abounds in such startling linkages; among other things it is an excellent short genealogy of a nihilism that was conceived in hope. Sartre's Nothingness didn't come out of nowhere. In defining man as the desire to be God he is in a sense deeply traditional.

The doctrine of the Incarnation makes the transcendent God paradoxically present. The paradox is intellectually unfathomable and psychologically hard to bear; the easy way out is for man to seek to "abolish this duality and turn, single-mindedly, toward tasks that his earthly existence prescribes to him."

Yet the idea of divinity, once known, is less easy to banish. It becomes assimilated to humanity entirely. Man becomes God, in a reversal of the Incarnation. When the conception of man is collectivized, the entire human race becomes the locus of divinity. Man is the measure of all things, but this "man" includes men unborn. Since it is obvious even to ideologues that those men who now exist are far from perfection, divinized man must be something as yet unrealized, a "new man," man as he will (according to ideology, anyway) be.

Thus humanism gives its energies to utopian politics. Having abandoned the eternal, it loses interest in (and even resents) traditional criteria of sin and virtue: personal behavior is a matter of concern only as it bears on man's collective destiny. (Exit chastity.) The real action is at the level of the state. Those who think that what has happened to American government can be summed up as "secularization," as in abortion, have failed to notice the way secular humanism (backed by the Christian kind) has aggressively tried to engulf traditional values.

Profound and incisive as usual, Molnar identifies the project of Christian humanism's theology: "the complete assimilation of the Church to the World." But that world is the world of the future —as imagined by humanism itself. And if we are to be "open" to the future, as the Rahners and the Küngs tell us to be, how, Molnar asks, can they presume to say in advance what it will be like? If they already know its nature they hardly need wait and see.



The secret of humanism turns out to be not that it is open to the future but that it is closed to the past—and therefore to the permanency embodied in the past. It is really a posture of revolt and repudiation, its idealism an excuse for demolishing the actual. And its deepest sin is ingratitude. □

Adventures of a Bystander
By Peter F. Drucker
Harper & Row, 344 pp., $12.95

INSIDE STRAIGHT

FARLEY CLINTON

Peter Drucker's father, Adolph Bertram Drucker, was Grandmaster of all Freemasons in Austria and had a high position in the Austrian Ministry of Economics. Both parents had known Freud for many years, though Peter met him only once, introduced to him as a child of eight, in a restaurant, about 1917; Peter Drucker's mother was the only woman ever to attend one of Freud's lecture series, either at the University or at the Psychoanalytic Society, and she owned one of the few first editions of *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

Vienna after 1918 was a depressing city: one of the most definite objects Peter Drucker proposed to himself in adolescence was to get out of it. In 1927, at age 18, he became a trainee at an export firm in Hamburg, then moved to Frankfurt as securities analyst for the European branch of a Wall Street brokerage firm. He became a financial writer for the *Frankfurter General-Anzeiger*, and in 1931 was made a senior editor, in charge of foreign and economic news.

Already he was on friendly terms with the brilliant and eccentric Polanyi family, exceptionally good-looking Hungarian Jews who had, at one point, been reputed to be the richest family in Hungary outside the aristocracy. Peter Drucker spent an amusing Christmas with Karl Polanyi, in 1927. Polanyi was full of information that morning. He remarked that the civil war in China, between Chiang and Mao and various warlords, would be the most important event in the world between 1928 and 1932; that the stock-market boom in the United States was a delusion; that since 1922 it had been obvious that Germany could not and would not pay reparations, no matter what kind of treaty it had signed; that Leninism was dead, and that Stalin had emerged as a classic Oriental despot who would reintroduce serfdom; that the revaluation of the pound would harm both the English and the world economy; that the fall of agricultural prices on the world market foreshadowed a serious economic depression within a few years. It had not, however, occurred to Karl Polanyi that the Nazis might well take over Germany. But it seems that Peter Drucker, aged 18, calmly pointed it out to him. The magazine in which Polanyi used to comment on such matters was one Peter Drucker had been reading since he was about 14; Adolph Drucker had helped to found it, a couple of years before Peter was born, and had remained a frequent contributor.

With this background, it is not surprising that at 22 Peter Drucker had so high a position on the *Frankfurter General-Anzeiger*; but he was already looking around for another job, feeling that he had outgrown the paper. Electing to leave Germany when it fell into the Nazis' hands, he became executive secretary to a merchant banking firm in London. In the United States he made himself useful as a consultant to General Motors and similar institutions, like the Federal Government. He was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard Nixon, Lillian Hellman, Edward Kennedy, Larry Flynt, and Bella Abzug have one thing in common.

They're Public Nuisances!

In a style of high and rollicking lampoon R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., editor of *The American Spectator*, ponders these and eighteen other political, literary, and cultural figures and finds them all —even Jimmy Carter, even Henry Kissinger—*Public Nuisances.* The result is a book that is as astonishing as it is amusing, a book already being read in high places and a book that will be read for years to come.

"Tyrrell is the funniest political essayist in years. One-third Mencken, one-third Pegler, one-third Muggeridge. and one hundred percent Tyrrell, he is the perfect holy terror for an age that doesn't add up anyway."

—Tom Wolfe

"Tyrrell writes the funniest stuff in America *and* he is the biggest public nuisance in America. He is so savage, so pointed, so tough-minded, so rib-ticklingly roguish that even if I didn't believe all that, I'd say it to protect me from him lest he ever point his pen my way."

—Ben Wattenberg

"Mr. R. Emmett Tyrrell [is] a young man of great mental energy and enthusiasm... His philippic against Professor J.K. Galbraith and all his lucrative works... is more in the spirit of Swift than our present notion of courtesy, and perhaps our libel laws, would allow today."

—The Times of London

"... especially good therapy for those of us who have been in high government."

—William E. Simon

PUBLIC NUISANCES

by

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

$11.95
at your bookstore

BASIC BOOKS INC.
10 EAST 53RD ST. NEW YORK 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most frequent contributor to *Harper's* between 1940 and 1965.

This book, his 15th, written when the age of seventy was approaching, is a collection of memoirs whose interest to any student of modern history can hardly be exaggerated. He knew almost everybody, and he has intelligent opinions, different from other people's opinions, even about the few people with influence he didn't know. Often he is a bit superficial; the facts here and there, when he is on unfamiliar territory, may be slightly wrong. I doubt that Roosevelt cherished an isolationist policy in 1936; it is open to question whether the self-segregation by race and religion which he observed throughout America in the late 1930s had come only with the Depression; other points might be challenged. But in a hundred ways he is amusing, informative, or thought-provoking.

He always seems fair, yet a few cruel words here and there suggest a serious readjustment of almost everybody's reputation. Gandhi gets only five words ("religious rhetoric and ruthless politicking"); Freud is destroyed in 15 pages; and we are offered a not-too-favorable view of the men "behind" Mussolini (Karl Polanyi's brother, Otto Pol) and Kissinger (the celebrated Dr. Fritz Kraemer). We are shown Nicholas Murray Butler in senility and Henry Luce on his way to a premature old age. Luce is said to be, literally, a Chinese person ("a China missionary's son, who grew up two hundred miles inland from the Chinese coast"; "Mao Tse-tung ran his government and party exactly the way Henry Luce ran his magazines"). John L. Lewis, in 1937, is made to sound very like Father Charles E. Coughlin: Celtic, self-pitying, literary, obsessed with the idea that he had made Roosevelt President and was met only with ingratitude. Drucker finds that Buckminster Fuller and Marshall McLuhan are "monomaniacs," the "hot gospelers of technology" who never condescended to think about work. Other well-known names turn up. Few survive intact.

There is more here than one would dream: about the Jewish professional and intellectual worlds in Vienna before 1930, the influence of Communists at *Time* and on American campuses, the fluctuations of English policy and the English collapse after 1914, the economic might of Japan, the du Pont family, General Motors. Peter Drucker's first 14 books all deal with economics, but, as he remarks, his original ambition was to be a novelist. I don't think I can recommend this book too highly. It might send up the price of many old copies of *Harper's*. □

FICTION

Dubin's Lives
By Bernard Malamud
Farrar, 362 pp., $10

FANNY AND DUBY

DAVID EVANIER

"One recovers of youth only what he can borrow from the young": thus tritely reflects William Dubin, 56-year-old biographer of Lincoln, Mark Twain, and Thoreau, in this uncharacteristic and wrenching Malamud novel. Twenty-two-year-old Fanny Bick—wraparound-skirted and braless—comes into Dubin's home as a maid, undresses and throws her yellow underpants at him. And Dubin reflects, with another homily, "Middle age . . . is when you pay for what you didn't have or couldn't do when you were young."

Presently, Dubin treks off to Venice with Fanny, and we are introduced to the standard suffering Malamud character. Nothing good happens to Dubin in Venice: a series of comic tragedies prevents consummation (Dubin doesn't actually have sex with her until page 208); Fanny vomits incessantly and has diarrhea; Dubin doctors her. When she is better, Dubin gets deflected in the city and arrives at their hotel late, to find Fanny being made love to on the floor by a gondolier.

The Venice interlude is good Malamud, but far better are the long stretches when Fanny disappears (for a time) from Dubin's life. For Malamud never does get a handle on hot, "wise" Fanny. She is only a recognizable type. (In discussing Thoreau, Fanny talks like this: "It must be a pretty dry lay, banging nature.") This tilts *Dubin's Lives* off-center. Dubin says things like, "You're a little larger than life, Fanny. I mean you make life seem larger. I felt that before you tossed your underpants at me." And the narrative is not clear as to what the author really makes of Dubin. His persona as biographer is never more than a labored fictional device.

But when he is alone in Stockholm, searching for his draft-dodger son, Dubin's suffering self becomes the stunning core of the novel. The rest of the narrative pitches forward into Dubin's psychological decomposition as middle age encroaches on him. Fanny's presence appears to forestall what her absences accelerate: middle-age crack-up. This is what the novel relentlessly explores, connected in this case to the changing seasons and landscape of the Vermont-New York border, and to a desolate marriage. After Venice, Dubin returns to his home for a horrendous winter, trying to shake Fanny out of his system. Kitty, Dubin's wife of 28 years, is a finely wrought, sympathetic, and yet fairly unlikable character. The marital scenes are harrowing—guilt, boredom, and need carom off one another:

> Getting into bed that night after he had gone downstairs to make sure he had locked the front door, as Dubin lay back his head cracked against hers. Kitty screamed. He bellowed: "How the hell did I know your head was on my pillow!"
>
> "I wanted to be affectionate." Tears flowed from her eyes.

We have now moved far from Malamud's earlier works, with their gentle Jewish martyr types. Dubin is marginally Jewish; he inflicts plenty of pain; he is not a loser. He is only, like the rest of us, getting old.

He embarks on an excruciating regi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men of running for miles in the woods, dieting, exercising. Malamud, a new writer in several ways here, not sounding translated from the Yiddish, turns into a splendid nature writer as well. Dubin loses his way in a blizzard and almost dies. These outdoor scenes, coinciding with Dubin's inner state, coalesce into high art:

> He felt a chill of fear, an icy trickle on his head, his brain pierced by cold. With a cry Dubin tore off his hat and slapped it savagely on his arm, beating off the wet snow. The red wool hat in his hand startled him . . .
>
> He heard a sudden heavy plop in the branches overhead and cried out as lumps of snow showered on him. His first wild fear was that a bobcat had seen and leapt at him. But when the powdery mist settled he beheld a hook-nosed white owl perched on a swaying branch over his head staring at him through the leathery slits of its cold blinking eyes. But the owl as if frightened by Dubin flew off into the wind-driven snow with a hoot and great flapping of its long wings.

Spring finally arrives and Dubin spots Fanny in town. He thinks he is under control, but finds he is driving the wrong way on the highway, where he is forced to crawl along for half a mile. Soon he and Fanny are making love in a field, and Dubin begins a successful adulterous life with Fanny at last.

ANGRY WITH the duplicity of the relationship, Fanny leaves again, and Dubin goes back to his regimen. The pace intensifies: impotence with his wife and loss of memory in his work, panic, inner recriminations plague him. The writing takes on a total, heightened anguish here, written as if in a fever. Again Fanny's absence yields one of the finest scenes in the book: 3 A.M., Dubin out of gas, Dubin terrorized, up a farmer's tree, a snarling dog sinking its teeth into his shoe, the farmer shooting through the trees with a pistol.

The novel's ending is no ending at all, and there are plot strands raveling and unraveling in the last sixty pages at a dizzying and pointless rate.

The book lacks the conciseness of the brilliant early Malamud work, but it also has within it a new completeness. Rather than serving as an illustration of an ethos, with the colors subdued to the purpose, art here exists for itself.

There remain at the center the hundreds of pages evoking Dubin's plummeting moods. Fanny appears to restore his energies and his hopes, and she becomes less ridiculous as the novel progresses. But perhaps because she seems more a mirage than a person, what endures in the memory are the scenes of Dubin running through the woods, alone in the blizzard, trapped with his wife, losing all control over his life. Those pages extend the range of Malamud's art. □

The Third World War: August 1985
By General Sir John Hackett and other top-ranking NATO generals and advisors
Macmillan, 368 pp., $12.95

WAR OF THE WORLDS

JEFFREY HART

An important book, a cobra that wants to transform its reader into a mongoose, a literary departure, a political act. It's actually a novel, the main characters of which are tank divisions, electronic sensors, political leaders caught up in the flow of events, and, protagonist and antagonist, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Set in the summer of 1985, and written by a committee of British military experts headed by the formidable General Sir John Hackett, former Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Rhine and Deputy Chief of the General Staff, it's one of those books you can't put down. (It's a best-seller in England.) At the mention of a novel by a committee, the heart sinks, but these people manage to bring it off. Being educated Englishmen, they can write. Standing at the top of their profession, they speak with authority and authenticity.

Russia and the West. Hector and Achilles: the one dutiful, boring; the other, infinitely more talented, sulking in his tent. Or, Darius and his Persians versus the Greek city-states: mass versus brains. The epic pattern so deeply embedded in Western consciousness reappears here, and convincingly.

Big surprise: we win the war in Europe against a massive Soviet invasion, and do so without a nuclear holocaust.

The story unfolds this way. After mounting global instability in the early 1980s, the Soviet Union, beset by economic difficulties, hobbled by a reactionary social system, facing fissures in its East European empire and restlessness among its ethnic *majority*, plays its top card: the military one. (In fact, this is its only card.) Early in August, Soviet troops invade Yugoslavia, betting on a rhetorical response from NATO and the United States. Instead, they get airborne U.S. Marines, and a global television audience sees Soviet and American forces in combat for the first time.

The Soviets, feeling time running out historically, decide to maximize their strengths by invading Western Europe with the relatively limited objective of seizing and destroying the West German Federal Republic.

The Soviet plan quite strikingly resembles the German Schlieffen Plan of World War I. The Soviets, like the Kaiser, rely upon sheer weight of assault. The Red Army must reach the Rhine and consolidate before massive reinforcements cross the Atlantic. NATO lacks space; but the Warsaw Pact lacks time. It has less than a month.

The Soviet tanks and massed divisions roll forward, at first inexorably; but soon things begin to go wrong. The West German flexible defense exacts fearful casualties. Ignoring Soviet warnings, the French come in in a big way, and reserve decision about their own nuclear weapons. NATO electronics prove far superior, often decisive. The centralized Soviet command structure turns out to be vulnerable at division and battalion level. In its execution, the timetable of the attack fails. In an electronics-age reprise of the First Marne, the NATO forces on the central front even find themselves able to go over onto the attack in a modest way.

In a decisive strategic setback, the Soviet navy loses the Battle of the Atlantic. U.S. troops and heavy equipment begin to pour into Europe. The element of time has now turned against the Soviets, and the Kremlin decides that it must make some strong gesture to forestall total political defeat. The Chinese have begun to move in a men-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acing fashion in the East. Large numbers of Warsaw Pact troops are scattered throughout Western Europe, doing nothing, abandoning their weapons.

As a last-ditch effort, and as a warning, the Kremlin decides to launch a single atomic missile, but not against the United States. The missile incinerates Birmingham, England.

In the immediate and inevitable response, U.S. and British atomic missiles take out the Soviet city of Minsk, causing much greater devastation. The Kremlin has played its last card. This atomic exchange, instead of securing the Soviet empire, destroys it. Rebellion spreads throughout the satellites. A top KGB officer, a Ukrainian, assassinates the Soviet dictator, and the Ukraine secedes. The Chinese offer protection to Soviet Asian Republics. A beleaguered Russia calls for a peace conference.

The power of this book manifests itself both in sweep and in detail. Sir John and his colleagues also have an important point to make. In the novel, the West, alarmed by Russian moves, has greatly strengthened its NATO forces—by 1985 they are in much better shape than in 1978-79. They are not strong enough to deter the nearly fatal attack, but they are just strong enough to fend it off.

With the devolution of the USSR, the world once again contains two superpowers: the U.S.-Europe, and the China-Japan Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The date in the title surely refers to Orwell. There *is* an exit from 1984, from inevitable totalitarianization. Two conclusions: 1) strengthen NATO and ensure Atlantic naval dominance, and 2) don't buy real estate in Minsk. □

DELECTATIONS

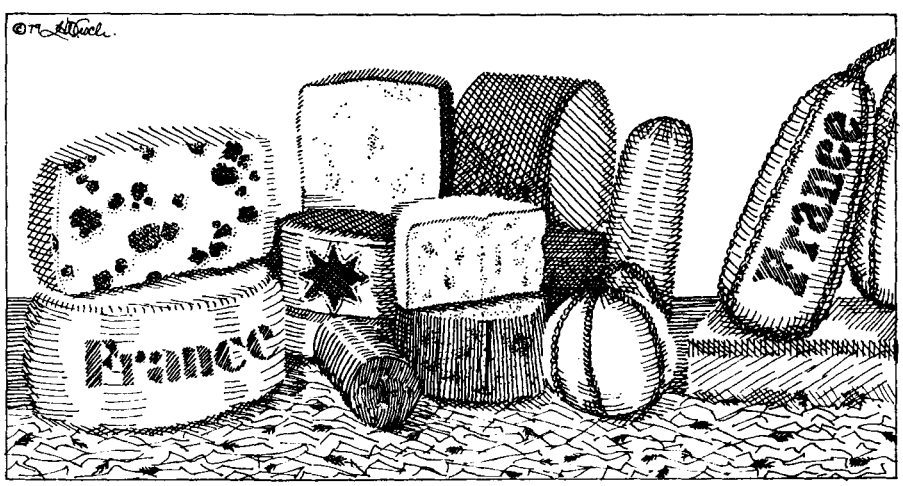
FROM CHARCUTERIE TO SUPERMARCHÉ

NIKA HAZELTON

Notes from a trip I recently made to France, in order to investigate the state of current French cooking for a forthcoming book.

Once more I was overwhelmed by the quality and freshness of all the food, and by the variety. And it is always so carefully displayed, whether in open-air markets, supermarkets, or mom-and-pop stores. Everything is in its orderly place, with none of the messy piles of fruits and vegetables we have to put up with here in New York. Above all, I am impressed with the butchers' displays. The meats are lean, neatly trimmed, and readied for cooking; they look inviting, rather than repellent as raw meat tends to be.

Food is expensive, more so than here. People who know tell me that working-class people spend as much as 40 to 50 per cent of their incomes on food, the better-off around 20 to 30 per cent. The interesting thing is that the shops in Paris' working-class districts carry the same foods you find in the posh residential 16ème, for instance.



The number of charcuteries you will see there boggles the mind. Charcuterie is delicatessen raised to sublime heights, starting with various hams and salamis; rough and smooth pâtés; terrines of duck, boar, hare, venison, and thrushes; hunks of foie gras with or without truffles; potted duck and goose; and so on and so forth, in and out of aspic—the displays look like a colorful tapestry. And these are just a few of the ready-to-eat foods; but there is more—the kindly charcuterie provides you with goodies you finish cooking at home, such as quenelles, andouillettes (made deliciously from tripe), rillettes, quiches galore, and, again, much, much more—the whole meal, if you like. In Thoissey, a little town of about one thousand inhabitants in the Beaujolais region, I counted four splendid charcuteries. Two of them were also *traiteurs*—that is, they prepared food on order.

Even more than the charcuteries I admired the cheese shops, with scores and scores of varieties and shapes. I liked the way the cheeses are often displayed: on a bed of clean, sweet straw.

I WAS curious to know whether modern times and modern foods had much changed the structure of the French meal, which has typically consisted of starters, main dish, cheese, and dessert. (I am talking of the family meal, the subject of my investigations.) The meal sounds larger and heavier than it is in reality, since it is well balanced and the food is served in reasonable, appetizing amounts rather than in our enormous portions. I saw no fat people in France—especially, no fat children. But then, there isn't the constant nibbling that we are used to. The family eats proper meals and that's that—when the kids get out of school, they get bread with some chocolate spread on it, but that's about all there is in the way of snacks. Besides, soft drinks and candy are expensive.

No wonder French children grow up to like and expect proper meals. One of the school kitchens I visited was in Thonon, a small Rhône River town in the Ardèche. The elementary school was housed in an old building of aristocratic origin, but the kitchen had excellent modern equipment. This is the lunch the motherly cook prepared for her charges, to be eaten at a properly set table: rice salad with mayonnaise and shrimp, sausages with peas, and yoghurt for dessert. She regretted that it had to be plain yoghurt that day rather than the fruited kind, but sugar would make up for it. Another elemen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tary-school lunch, this one in a Paris suburb, started with sardines garnished with lemon, followed by veal cutlets with spinach, and crème caramel.

Full-course meals—that is, including cheese—are eaten at midday by the increasing number of factory and office workers who can't go home for lunch and are fed in their employer-subsidized canteens. I ate with a film crew in one of these dining rooms. The excellent meal consisted of a first course of hams and salami, followed by a cassoulet, a salad, cheese, and chocolate mousse; of course there was wine.

The family meal is still structured, as is the restaurant meal, but there have been some changes. First of all, the food is lighter, not quite as rich, and is served in smaller quantities—this from the food editor of one of the large women's magazines. Then there is the current French vogue for making salad the first course, rather than serving it before the cheese. (Never with the cheese—salad does not go with wine, but cheese does.) You find salads on the menus of all the starred restaurants. They can be simple tossed green salads; or dandelions with bacon, now very fashionable; or a composed salad—that is, composed of whatever the chef thinks will taste good together. I tried a mixture of scallops, asparagus slivers, almonds, and a little foie gras, which sounds horrendous but was very good, and it occurred to me that now, when complicated sauces have lost some of their appeal, perhaps the French love for putting things together expresses itself in salads.

As for *cuisine minceur* and *nouvelle cuisine*, which made such an impression on Americans when expounded by the great chefs Troisgros and Guérard in their books, French family food has not been affected by these trends at all, except perhaps indirectly—lighter meals, more vegetables, and vegetables that are not overcooked. Furthermore, it isn't the kind of food, people have told me, that you'd go to a restaurant for, paying a lot of money for it.

But certainly, women do not cook as much as they once did, not even in the depths of the provinces. However, they do still prefer to cook with fresh ingredients. The manager of a chain of supermarkets (as big and glorious as ours, with astonishingly excellent charcuterie and cheese departments) did not think frozen foods had caught on except as an emergency ration or when the fresh product (fish, for instance) was not available. Perhaps I'd better take some of this back, though, thinking of the variety of packaged puddings, creams, liquid caramel, and canned vegetables in the supermarket. (Incidentally, instant potatoes for mashed potatoes are much admired, and I admit that they taste a great deal better than ours.) I laughed when a Frenchman told me that Americans eat nothing but pre-cooked foods. He wouldn't believe me when I told him that canned vegetables are looked down upon by good American cooks—whereas the French use them with abandon. I grant that they are nice in France, but still, canned is canned. □

The GIMLET EYE

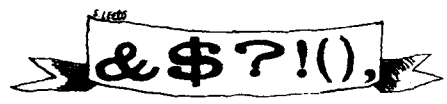
FIDDLER IN THE BASEMENT

D. KEITH MANO

The Felt Forum has had enough: at least five thousand. Even 35th Street is sold out now, SRO. It sounds like they booked in a dirge. Hebrew is the premier language of complaint: it moans, it gripes. And Hassidim have an innate rocking motion: so many human metronomes: their life is superrhythmic, meditative: they will hold sway tonight.

One advantage of being Hassidic: you know what you're gonna wear tomorrow. Black suit, black hat, black footgear: somewhere the Talmud must expatiate on lint. Also corrective lenses: this is a myopic sect; most are under glass. And they outhair *Hair*: beard and sidelock: Gillette would do a Sweeney Todd on its corporate throat.

Two or three men spit: Melinda of ABC-TV has highheeled it in. This is strictly a stag affair: not one vote for ERA in the joint. Notices state hypocritically, "Due to lack of space—No Women." The PR Hassid will safe-conduct Melinda. But when she tries to introduce herself, hand out, he is apologetic. Just can't press that Midwestern shiksa flesh. Such a choosy chosen people they are.



NAZI GERMANY—1939?
NO!!!

Protest the Indiscriminate Cruel Beatings of Rabbis, Old Men, Women and Children on the Streets of Jerusalem by Zionist Police

Posters like that one have been slapped up all over New York: so fat with pressure-sensitive maxi-stick they're holding the entire subway system up. Now, mind you, when I read "Zionist" I think Commie propaganda. Or maybe PLO. But the human soul has more service entrances than we can guess. A rabbi will speak in English for once. "We represent the old order. In this room you see only Hassidim—these people truly represent what Judaism is about. WE ARE ISRAEL!" Tumultuous self-applause in Felt Forum; the sound of one head clapping. "We aren't against Israel, but we are against those who so terribly abuse that holy name. For thirty years the modern state of Israel was built upon the ruins of all that was holy to us. Their end goal is to do away with the Jewish religion. Mr. Begin makes our poor President put on a yarmulka and make Kaddish over a cup of wine—but who is he kidding when the Sabbath is desecrated every day [good trick, that] in the Holy City? When Begin arrives by car on the Sabbath so he can address some political rally?"

Now, I ask you, what's a fitutzed goy like me to think? Half my unclean self will venerate traditional religion. Half can't see Begin walking to a rally; or shutting down the whole government at the crack of sunset on Shabbes eve. Hassidim (Hebrew = "pious") represent about one Israeli in five. And about four-fifths of the national nuisance output. Begin would probably trade each Hassid for two PLO hitmen. If report be true, Israeli planners shoveled a six-lane highway through Jerusalem: and, for pure harassment, through the Hassidic section. Ancient shrines were backhoed up. Worse: traffic is zooming past on Shabbes. Hassidim protest. The six-lane artery develops severe thrombosis. Hassidim are taken off,, with uneven

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gentleness, in whatever the Israeli equivalent of a Black Maria might be. Suppose militant Catholics bungstopped every street outside every church from Staten Island to Van Cortlandt Park? Some green gall, you'd think: but Israel isn't New York: Israel has been advertised, remember, as Yahweh's own bureaucracy: a sacred place. The Hassidim have their point. At one juncture all five thousand in Felt Forum will sit on the floor to mourn. It looks either shamanistic and excessive: or affecting. Depends, I suppose, on whose lox is gored.

They have a point; and they don't.

"Zionism and Judaism have nothing in common," a PR Hassid will tell me. "Zionism is secular and socialist. It intends spiritual genocide. The Hassidim are a people of the book, not the bomb. We've been taught never to rebel against nations. We wait for the Messiah."

"But," I ask, perplexed, "Hassidim fought in the Six Day War, didn't they?"

"We were forced to. We wouldn't otherwise. If a man threatened my family, I might defend them. But never in an organized, national way."

So here they are: kvetching about autobahns in a town that would be Syrian or Egyptian if it were left up to them. I admire their righteous nerve. But Hassidim are a peculiar lot and not, as you'd think, particularly ancient. In fact – though the wardrobe department is different – they feel, to me, like Bible-belting evangelicals: except that they won't evangelize. Lower-middle-class; ecstatic; fundamentalist; subject to the quiet demagoguery of their rabbinical echelon.

Baal Shem Tov, who founded modern Hassidism, was born three years before John Wesley. Hassidism began as a leveling, anti-establishment personality cult. Baal Shem Tov was the Oral Roberts of his time. He had a reputation for herbal medicine and miracle-making. He also taught that prayers from the illiterati were worth as much as any tuned-up Pharisaic Kaddish. It was, well, Jewish Protestantism. Hassidim have always deferred to their tzaddikim: charismatic rabbis of great holiness who man the direct Yahweh hot-line. And at Felt Forum they come: or are borne on human litters. Decrepit men of eighty, of ninety: looking light-blind and tachycardiac. Honored half to death. Hassidic heavies prod a way for them. Nonetheless, here and there, the zealot will break through: to kiss some overknuckled, arthritic hand: relics still alive. An enthusiast's perfervid faith. You could see the same on Lenox Avenue. Or under a one-night circus tent in Tennessee.

It's no secret: other Jews have never been at ease with Hassidim. They're like a mad aunt, insoluble in polite society, but whose blood can't be renounced: and who, somehow, still, can remind you of your mother. (Christians are no better off: we've had our Scopes Trials.) But Israel is now confronted with a challenge, if not more dangerous, certainly more excruciating than OPEC. And the question hangs around: who, what is a Jew? No one will ever answer that. It's enough to make you pull your payess out. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

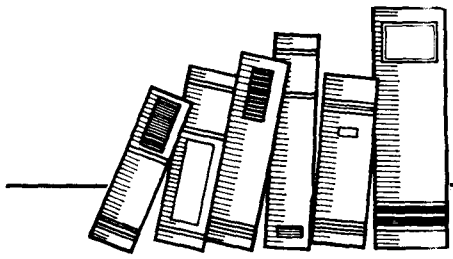
Almost Everybody's Guide to Economics, *J. K. Galbraith and Nicole Salinger (Houghton Mifflin, 162 pp., $8.95).* Although Galbraith regards new ideas as a scarce resource to be jealously husbanded in his books, his latest effort, done in Q-and-A interview form, is nevertheless extremely useful. It presents the bare bones of his system so clearly that its weaknesses are obvious. Galbraith advances some odd views about the history of economics. He places Joseph Schumpeter, an ardent defender of monopoly, among the "devout and rigorous defenders of the neoclassical market" (p. 28). Sir John Hicks, one of the earliest and most influential Keynesians, becomes "the high priest of British market orthodoxy for half a century" (p. 127). Students of Communism will be interested to discover that Lenin drew many of his ideas from J. A. Hobson. (Is this a confused reference to the fact that Lenin's pamphlet *Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism* borrowed much of its data from Hobson, or has Galbraith found out something new?) Galbraith's departures unfortunately are not confined to historical matters. The heart of his system is the claim that the growth of large corporations has rendered neoclassical economic theory obsolete, at least for large portions of the economies of the United States and Europe. He points out that monopoly prices may differ from those arrived at under pure or perfect competition, a proposition few except Murray Rothbard would doubt. He goes on to argue that under oligopoly, which in his astonishing definition can include as many as twenty sellers, prices behave in roughly the same manner as under monopoly. He is fully aware that international commodity agreements often break down because someone succumbs to the temptation to undercut prices, but he never thinks to apply the same principle to oligopolies. Lacking this understanding of the corporation, Galbraith's case for wage and price controls to combat inflation collapses. His challenge to both monetarist and Keynesian remedies is that the villainous corporations can always respond to tight money or reduced spending by raising prices, since they are impervious to market pressure unless there is a good deal of unused capacity. Obviously, if his deprecation of the market's scope is misplaced, his objection fails. But even if he were correct about market structure, his assumption that quasi-monopolies can raise prices indefinitely assumes an extremely inelastic demand curve. At one point Galbraith wonders how it happened that James Schlesinger escaped learning about the elasticity of demand while a student at Harvard. Apparently in Galbraith's department, the demand curve is usually vertical.

DAVID GORDON

The Big Red Train Ride, *by Eric Newby (St. Martin's Press, 267 pp., $10).* There is only one continuous land route from Europe to the Pacific Coast: the Trans-Siberian Railway, the line that makes all others look as if they belong in your basement. It traverses nearly a hundred degrees of longitude in Europe and A[illegible], seven time zones, and 5,810 miles on its eight-day journey between Moscow and Vladivostok, on the Sea of Japan. In company with his wife, a German photographer, and Mischa, their constant companion from the Soviet "tourist" agency, Mr. Newby set off from Moscow on a ride across the most brutal and awesome land in the world. As the train clatters east through forest, steppe, and mountain, Mr. Newby passes the time by tossing out items of historical or geographical interest about such places as Irkutsk, the "Paris of Siberia," some of whose wealthy residents, in the mid-nineteenth century, used to send their laundry to London, a round trip of about a year; and balmy Bratsk, where the temperature rises above freezing about eighty days a year. The droll Mr. Newby is at his best when describing his encounters with railway employees, who sound far more forbidding than the landscape. By journey's end at the coastal city of Nakhodka – foreigners, for reasons of Soviet security, are not allowed into Vladivostok – the Newby contingent has had enough of the awful food, of the awful service, and of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Anyone interested in making the trip would be wise to wait until after the next revolution.

KEVIN LYNCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Dark Horses

IF MODERN AMERICAN conservatism may be said to have a founding father, Professor Russell Kirk would seem to be the obvious candidate for the title. His seminal study, *The Conservative Mind*, went far to restore the term "conservatism" to academic respectability and to give it currency in popular discussion. A generation later, *The Roots of American Order* spelled out with graceful erudition the philosophical and historical antecedents, not only of our political system, but of our culture, beliefs, and practices in general.

Had these two monumental works made up the whole of Kirk's endeavor, they would have been enough to secure his reputation. But his fertile pen has produced a score of other books as well, including criticism, fiction, biography, and contemporary politics. At this more specific level, the subject that has most frequently engaged his interest is education—which he has treated in a half-dozen books and in numerous lectures and articles, including his regular column in this journal.

Now Kirk has brought out a useful study entitled *Decadence and Renewal in the Higher Learning* (Gateway Editions, 120 West LaSalle Street, South Bend, Ind. 46601; $15)—a summary view of all the major failings of our colleges and universities. As one would expect from Professor Kirk, it is an excellent book, distilling between one set of covers the principal problems of academic life today, and providing an agenda for improvement.

At the source of our educational troubles, Kirk avers, is our loss of contact with our religious and philosophical heritage. Because we no longer know what we believe, or what we are supposed to do, we are unable to conduct the business of education in proper fashion. If we have no sense of direction for ourselves, then we obviously cannot convey a sense of direction to others. Hence the use of "decadence" in the title—to mean specifically "the loss of an object."

From this original problem, as Kirk describes it, flow all the other problems of modern schooling: education as a tool for utilitarian/vocational purposes, the loss of academic standards, the pursuit of huge enrollments and related funding for their own sake, the mindless secularism and collectivism of the Left, the evanescence of authority among faculties and administrators. Also discussed are such subjects as unionization on campus, liberal-Left intolerance of dissent, the decline of primary and secondary education, and—by way of conclusion—some concrete steps for setting the situation right, plus an honor roll of institutions (Aquinas, Hillsdale, Rockford, et al.), where some of these corrective measures are being put into practice.

Professor Kirk is one of three dozen or so conservative writers whose works are considered in *Recent Conservative Thought: American Perspectives* (University Press of America, 4710 Auth Place, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20023; $10). The author of this study, Professor Russell G. Fryer of Western Connecticut State University, is obviously well-read in conservative literature and does a fairly comprehensive job of paraphrasing and critiquing the ideas of people as divergent as Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin on the one hand, Milton Friedman and Murray Rothbard on the other. Certain writers connected with *NR*—e.g., Kirk, William Buckley, James Burnham, and Frank Meyer—are also examined.

PROFESSOR FRYER writes from a generally liberal standpoint, and suffers from certain stereotypes of thought that are associated with that condition. Also, despite his wide-ranging selections (up to and including such people as George Kennan), Fryer's ideas of what constitutes conservatism (preference for rule by elites, resistance to change, etc.) are *petitio principii* incarnate. The book is generally amiable in tone, however, and respectful of the conservative position, if less than fully sympathetic. The net impression is that conservative teachings are beginning to have their impact, even in the liberal groves of academe.

—M. STANTON EVANS

PROUD OF OUR PAST. . .
CONFIDENT OF
OUR FUTURE

THE TEMPLETON FUNDS

Two Mutual Funds seeking long-term growth through investments in U.S. and Foreign securities.

Free brochure & prospectus available.
Securities Fund Investors, Inc.
41 Beach Drive
St. Petersburg, FL. 33701

☐ **TEMPLETON GROWTH FUND**
A Canadian mutual fund
(first offered in 1954).
OR
☐ **TEMPLETON WORLD FUND**
A U.S. investment company
(first offered in 1978).

Tell me about your.
☐ IRA (Individual Retirement Account)
☐ HR-10 (Keogh Plan for the Self-Employed)

Name
Address
City
State Zip NR4-27

PAYING TOP PRICES FOR
FINE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN SHOTGUNS

PREMIUM PRICES FOR
(especially smaller gauges)
BOSS BROWNING CHURCHILL
FRANCHOTTE HEYM HOLLAND & HOLLAND
KRIEGHOFF MERKEL PARKER
PURDEY L.C. SMITH WINCHESTER
AND THE LIKE

WANTED ALSO - TOP PRICES
GUN COLLECTIONS
SWORDS AND ARMOUR
MUSKETS CARBINES RIFLES
CIVILIAN & SPORTING
ANTIQUE & MODERN

PREMIUM PRICES PAID
CIVIL WAR MILITARY
COLTS
SPRINGFIELDS
WINCHESTERS

Please send descriptions or photos to:
C.S. von STADE
7 NORTH COURT
OYSTER BAY COVE, N.Y. 11771
or Call (516) 922-1376 or 922-7772
All inquiries answered within 3 days of receipt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

NR NEEDS A GOOD GAL FRIDAY. Accurate typing and a sense of humor (in that order) essential; long hours and miserable pay negotiable. Write Box EAC, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

YOUR RESUME—Write it yourself! Instructions, samples, forms: $3.95. Your Resume Inc., 359 Jersey Avenue, Fairview, N.J. 07022.

PUBLIC RELATIONS. Conservative-thinking New York State legislator has opening for experienced writer to handle news releases, report-writing, research, media contact, etc. Send detailed resume, including salary history and samples to NR Box 3185.

RESUMES—A complete guide with instructions and examples. $2.95. Informax, Box 8486, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.

Literary

THE CHESTERTON REVIEW is an international journal of literature. For subscriptions ($6.00 per year) write to: The Chesterton Review, 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, S7N OW6.

OUT-OF-PRINT Bookfinder. Box 5842 NR, High Point, N.C. 27262. Send wants.

BOOK SEARCHING. All Subjects. New list ready, "International Affairs." Send 25¢. Regent House, 108 N. Roselake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

PUBLISHER NEEDS AGENTS! $500 monthly possible. Complete assistance! Guaranteed! Send stamped, self-addressed envelope to: P. F. Buechle & Assoc., P.O. Box 28-NR, East Hanover, N.J. 07936.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ALL FAITHS—Christianity, Judaism, Islam, others. Weekly background, worldwide updates, interviews. Send $25.00 annual . . . quarterly trial $10.00. ICR, P.O. Box 91-RA, Plymouth, Mich. 48170.

Gourmet

SZECHWAN CHICKEN WITH CASHEWS. Step-by-step instructions. Learned in the Orient. $1.00, S.A.S.E.: Patricia Blatt, 2143 Shoshoni Trail South, Cody, Wyo. 82414.

SUPERB, EASY QUICHE recipe. $1.25 S.A.S.E. Alpha Omega Enterprises, 46N Sunnybrook Road, Bronxville, N.Y. 10708.

CHOCOLATE LAYER CAKE the way it used to taste. $2.00 plus S.A.S.E. to SCOLOD, Route 1, Box 66-C, Duncan, S.C. 29334.

Situations Wanted

CONSERVATIVE, MIDDLE-AGED HISTORIAN (PhD) seeks employment: four-year college, community college, research. Catholic interests: American and/or undergraduate European history. Eight years experience, small state college. Box 1423, Portland, Ore.

CHRISTIAN, CONSERVATIVE, veteran, age 32, male, excellent condition, desires administrative or operative position with agency/organization involved in combatting communism. 6 years college, Psychology, Political Science. Write NR Box 3182.

TEACH CHINESE, LANGUAGE, and civilization. Private secondary, parochial junior college, private tutor. M.A., 8 years secondary experience. Live alone with son, age 12. Lodgings, though modest, essential. Background also: French, Spanish, Latin, Greek. All areas U.S., Mexico, considered. Prefer rural Boston to Washington, D.C. Available September, 1979. Write NR Box 3183.

Real Estate

SANIBEL, FLORIDA. 3 bedroom, 2 bath, luxury condominium. Famous shelling, wildlife sanctuary. Low off-season rates. Write NR Box 3186.

PART OF ESTATE DEEDED to Hopley Yeaton by George Washington. 1800-foot deep water harbor, 11-room farmhouse, 13 acres. $60,000. Box H, Lubec, Maine 04652.

LANDLORDS: We publish clear, legally binding, one-page leases and tenant-at-will agreements. In 3-form sets, with carbons. We ship the day your order arrives. Send for free sample copies: REALFORMS, P.O. Box X, Andover, Mass. 01810.

Vacation

BONAVENTURE - FT. LAUDERDALE, Florida. Golf and tennis resort; 1-bedroom condominium. $1,200.00 per month. Write NR Box 3166.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET. Beresford Hotel, 635 Sutter Street, 94102; Charming, Convenient, Comfortable.

For Sale

FINE WALKING STICKS AND CANES. Free color brochure. Marchele Co., Dept. RV, 720 Fort Washington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10040.

PENS FOR WRITERS, ARTISTS, calligraphers. Fabulous collection. Free catalogue. Sam Flax, Dept. NR, 111 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ANTIQUE METAL SOLDIERS—hand-painted and cast from pre-1900 molds. 54mm. Specify Napoleonic or Prussian type. Mounted: $5.95 + 50¢ post. Foot: $4.95 + 50¢ post. Set (1 mounted, 3 foot): $19.95 + $1.50 post. Radcliff, 6700 N. Oshkosh, Chicago, Ill. 60631.

ADAM SMITH TIES AND SCARVES—The famous Adam Smith necktie, as worn by F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, William E. Simon, and Ed Feulner, Jr. Features the Tassie medallion in gold, with narrow gold stripes. Please specify color choices: Navy Blue, Burgundy, Scottish Green, Laissez-Faire Black. $14 each; two for $25; four for $45. Adam Smith Ladies' Scarf—A generous 28" by 28" in burnt sienna and black on white, $15 each. TEE/SHIRTS AND SWEAT/SHIRTS—Adam Smith and Saint Thomas Aquinas; Large and X-Large. Tees $8 and Sweats $12. Tee/Shirts Only—Stephen Decatur, Edmund Burke, and H. L. Mencken, Large and X-Large, $8 each. All items shipped postage-paid and satisfaction guaranteed. Payment with order, please. The Decatur Shop, North Adams, Mich. 49262.

Investment Opportunities

"INDIVIDUAL INVESTOR IN TOMORROW'S Stock Market"—$5.95. Al Smith, P.O. Box 1714, LaJolla, Calif. 92038.

PRIVATE MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC for sale, Gulf coast area. High annual gross income. Inquiries: NR Box 3178.

Business Opportunities

IMPROVE your business performance and position with our EXECUTIVE'S GUIDE to developing creative communication skills, managing your time efficiently, and writing an effective resume. Send $2.00 to: Global Research, Box 125, Runnemede, N.J. 08078.

HOW TO INCORPORATE in the State of Nevada. Send two dollars for booklet. Corporate Services Company, Dept. N, P.O. Box 7346, Las Vegas, Nev. 89101.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

D.C. PhD, 38, libertarian, conservative lifestyle, interested in music (especially jazz), international travel, serious conversation, Asian food, seeks like-minded female, 22-35, any nationality or religion. Write NR Box 3180.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 90¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.00 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[EARL P.] MYREE:

Government Stay Out!

Has government ever done anything more efficiently, more economically or improved the quality of anything it does? With more government intervention in medicine, we will be a leap ahead of Britain in our downward fall.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROFESSIONAL WOMAN (56) wishes to correspond with intelligent gentleman. Interests: sports, travel, cooking. Write NR Box 3184.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured single, widowed, or divorced persons acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box A-, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.

Music

QUADRAPHONIC SOUND! Its full, lush ambiance possible with your two-channel stereo through ingenious technique: "Delta-Phase Stereo Enhancement." Send $2.50 for instructions including explicitly illustrated connections of third speaker. Delta-V, Box 33864-W, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

BLANK CARDBOARD RECORD replacement jackets, 35¢. Plastic-lined inside sleeves, 15¢. Opera boxes, vinyl protectors, 78 RPM sleeves, etc. Postage $1.25. CABCO, NR 78, Box 8212, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

RECORDING TAPE ¼" x 2700'. AMPEX MILAR. Guaranteed. $2.35 per reel. R. H. Haynes, 62 Voorhis Lane, Hackensack, N.J. 07601.

Miscellaneous

COACHELLA VALLEY CONDO OWNERS—Best deal on custom draperies, shutters, etc. Twenty years reliability. Free estimates. NELSHA'S DRAPERY, Palm Desert, Calif. 714-346-8651.

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONAL CASSETTE TAPES—condensations of best-selling books: "Keys to Creative Living", "Listen and Lose (Weight)", "You Can Beat The Odds On A Heart Attack", "Run For Your Life", "Psycho Cybernetics", "Your Child's Self-Esteem" and many more. $9.95 each. Free brochure. T-M Enterprises, 12550 Brookglen Drive, Saratoga, Calif. 95070.

BEAT INFLATION. Durable plastic trash liners: 4¢ to 10¢ each. Free UPS delivery! Details. Crosskit, P.O. Box 616-NRB 1, New York, N.Y. 10004.

PRIVATE SCUBA INSTRUCTION in your pool. YMCA certification. Tampa Bay area. 813-733-7833.

TEACH YOUR CHILD TO READ successfully with phonics. Easy home method. Complete manual $5.50. Reading System, P.O. Box 1423, Corvallis, Ore. 97330.

SOUND SUMMER PROGRAM OF CATHOLIC STUDIES: July 2-August 22, El Escorial, Spain. 7 weeks of Theology, Philosophy, History, Catholic Social Thought, and Literature. Distinguished faculty. 12 college credits available through Gannon College, Erie, Pa. Room, board, air fare from New York. Extensive recreational facilities. Tours of historic centers of Spain. Daily liturgical and spiritual exercises. $1650.00 complete. Deadline: April 1, 1979. Kairos Foundation, 3819 Sassafras St., Erie, Pa. 16508.

STACK/WRAP pennies to quarters without fumbling! Unique coin assembler. Automatic tally. Handsome gift. $3.95. Crosskit, P.O. Box 616, NRC 1, New York, N.Y. 10004.

HOW TO START that diesel engine in cold weather. Information: Diesel Start, P.O. Box 2079, Michigan City, Ind. 46360.

CHOICE SELECTION in nostalgic wisdom now available entitled "Quotations from Washington." Attractive keepsake. Send $1.00 Tuttle's, Inc., Ill. 62846.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

Rates: 90c per word, $2.00 for NR box number

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35 Street
New York, NY 10016

AD COPY:

READER'S SERVICE

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your old address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code.

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER
that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME _____
(Please print)

ADDRESS _____
(New address–if moving)

CITY **STATE** **ZIP**

☐ **PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO** ☐ **I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $19.00 rate. Please enter my** ☐ **new** ☐ **renewal subscription:** ☐ **payment enclosed** ☐ **bill me later.**

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? Foreign Service personnel, that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse fluently in every situation.

Now, you can learn to speak Spanish just like these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course.

The U.S. Department of State has spent tens of thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far the most effective way to learn Spanish immediately.

The Programmatic Spanish Course consists of a series of tape cassettes and an accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. The course begins entirely in English. But by its end, you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Programmatic Spanish Course comes in two volumes. You may order one or both courses:

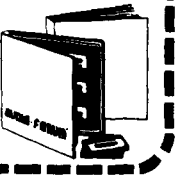
- Volume I, Basic. (11 cassettes, 16 hours), instructor's manual and 464-page text, $115
- Volume II, Advanced. (8 cassettes, 11½ hours), instructor's manual and 614 page text, $98

(New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.)

Your cassettes are shipped to you in handsome library binders.

TO ORDER, JUST CLIP THIS AD and mail with your name and address, and a check or money order. Or, charge to your credit card (American Express, VISA, Master Charge, Diners Club) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid! Order today!



AUDIO-FORUM®

Audio Forum
Dept. 86
145 East 49th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 753-1783

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Islam versus the Jews

On The Right

Tel Aviv, March 23—The great hostility of the Ayatollah Khomeini for Israel prompts curiosity as to the doctrinal source, if any, of that hostility; and it transpires that, really, there isn't any. Islam is an exclusivist religion in the sense that anyone who lives outside it is an infidel, so that the Jews are, to be sure, infidels, but no more so than, say, Christians or Buddhists. Why, then, has Khomeini gone on so?

"Before us," he lectured in Iraq in 1970, "we see the Jews making a mockery of the Koran. It is our duty to reveal this treachery and to shout at the top of our voices until people understand that the Jews and their foreign masters are plotting against Islam and are preparing the way for the Jews to rule over the entire planet."

Now let us analyze that statement, as if Khomeini were not cuckoo. That alternative we'll consider later.

1. The Jews do not "mock" the Koran any more than, say, Christians "mock" Zoroastrianism. Merely to proceed on the assumption that the God of Abraham is not the God of Mohammed is not to "mock" Allah: it is to ignore him. If we are each going to get mad at everyone else for ignoring our own theological hierarchies, the world will find itself in the same turmoil it found itself in in that awful century during which everyone was engaged in fighting religious wars which, in retrospect, are only presumptuously held up as having been fought for the greater glory of God.

2. In what way are the "Jews and their foreign masters" plotting against Islam and "preparing the way" for the Jews to rule over the entire planet?

In the first place, if the Jews *have* foreign masters, which is front-page news were it so, then one wonders why these non-Jewish foreign masters desire to see the Jews conquer the entire planet, which would entail their conquering their foreign masters. I mean, Western diplomacy has done some awfully dumb things in our time, but it beggars the belief of even the most pessimistic that one of the West's ambitions is to elevate the Jews to positions of plenipotentiary power.

And then, at a more particular level, how is this charge consistent with Resolution 242 of the United Nations, backed by every permanent member of the Security Council, calling on Israel, once the question of security is assured, to return the territories conquered in 1967? It is unlikely that at one and the same time world leaders would be encouraging Israel to return the Sinai to the Islamic world, and encouraging Israel to take over the entire planet.

And finally. I know a lot of people who plot a lot of things. But Khomeini would have a difficult time finding in America anyone who spends his time "plotting" against Islam. I know people much more fruitfully engaged in plotting against the continuation in power of President Carter, than against Islam.

Well, then—I put this question to three Islamic scholars, two of them Jews—if there are no doctrinal imperatives in Islam that single out the Jews, what about historical animosity? Here there is agreement that the Jewish enclaves that managed for so many centuries to survive within tight Islamic societies were a source of aggravation to the society at large. As much can be said of the Jewish enclaves in the Christian West. The persecution of the Jews has generally resulted from their adamant refusal to submit to acculturation. There were very few Christian enclaves in the Islamic world, Lebanon being a conspicuous exception. But when the Lebanese Christians were called on to make a choice between alliance with the surrounding Islamic hordes, and cross-alliances with coreligionists in other countries, the Christians chose the Arabs: and, for their pains, are virtually extinct.

Islam is a galvanizing force in the world today and for reasons, in another context, best stated by Solzhenitsyn. The secular vision has not satisfied. It is inherently corrupt. Any bit of utopia will turn to ashes in the mouth, and so the Islamic hordes are tempted to extra-worldly alternatives, even when enunciated by someone as manifestly out of his mind as Khomeini. Is he in a position to do great damage to Israel? In the short run, he will perhaps make oil there scarce. In the long run—if Russia can be contained—it is more likely that, for the good of Islam, he will be repudiated. And the long run will come well before the foreign masters of the Jews oversee the Jews' taking over the planet. □

SINCE I WAS NOT BORN GREAT, AND BECAUSE I HAVE NOT ACHIEVED GREATNESS, I WILL JUST HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL GREATNESS IS THRUST UPON ME!
Mal

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE GAYS?

New York, April 4—It is clear that the heavy vote against liberalizing the homosexuality laws, the most conspicuous of which was in Florida after the campaign that made Anita Bryant famous, has intended to signify something more than mere hostility to sexual aberrants. In California, when the Briggs Amendment was proposed, the voters defeated it—because in their judgment (correct) it went too far in the direction of harassing intellectuals. Even so there are those who voted against the Briggs Amendment reluctantly, because it is increasingly clear that many aggressive gays, if you will pardon the oxymoron, are out for something much more than a mere respect for adult homosexual privacy. This is made clear in a publication called *Gala*, excerpts from which have been distributed by Anita Bryant's organization. What you have in that magazine is, so to speak, a reprimand by the militants of what one might call Straight Gays.

The author, who styles himself "Spokesperson, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, New York City," insists that the gay liberation movement is not making explicit demands for genuine liberation. "It is essential," the author writes, "that the gay liberation movement as a whole recognize and fight for the rights of children to control their own bodies, free from the antisexual restraints now imposed upon them by adults and by the institutions adults control—religion, the state, the legal profession, the schools, and the family."

The author, speaking for his association, gives the "ultimate goal of the gay liberation movement." It is "freedom of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sexual expression for young people and children." Nothing less than that is genuine liberation. "We gain nothing by limiting our defense of homosexual love to consensual sex between adults. It is," he writes, "absurd to charge gay men who share their sexuality with boys as 'child molesters.' . . . Those of us who are struggling for gay rights are, moreover, hypocritical if we limit our demands to the protection of consenting adults." The issue of *Gala* carrying the article in question advertises buttons reflecting its opposition to morals based on the "primitive 'revelations' of the Bible" and calling for relief for "brothers and sisters who are victims of organized religion."

Now this is a pretty unpleasant situation. Unpleasant because on the one hand it tends to confirm the suspicions of many voters: that the homosexuals are indeed after more than their demure demands for civil rights and privacy suggest. Unpleasant also because it is correct that many homosexuals in fact want merely this, but are inevitably linked with others whose iconoclasm is total and who insist that only when pedophilia is legally sanctioned and conventional is there effective liberation.

Now, every movement has its extremists. But most movements have the advantage of acknowledged leaders who dissociate themselves from the extremists. The American liberals' renunciation of Communism in the Thirties was an event of historical importance. The conservative rejection of the John Birch Society, of the anarchists and other fanatics, was an act of excretion essential to political and intellectual hygiene. A cause for justified criticism of black African leaders was their prolonged failure, only recently set right, to renounce Idi Amin.

But who are the acknowledged leaders of the homosexual-rights movement? Although marches by gay-rights people are no longer unusual, and in that sense it can be said that gays have come out of the closet, no name or names come readily to mind, in the way that the feminist movement suggests a half-dozen names of established leaders. *Their* problem has been the failure to dissociate their movement from the lesbian movement, notwithstanding an attempt, later recanted, by Betty Friedan. But the homosexuals have no spokesman of national prominence.

The crowning question is: If such a person emerged, or a council of acknowledged homosexual leaders, would they speak convincingly for the entire movement in rejecting the enormities of those gays who write of the necessity to legalize child molestation, indeed to encourage pederasty? To assault Judaeo-Christian standards, morals, and ideals? Unless something of the sort is done, voters faced with Yes or No options on homosexual rights are for understandable reasons going to be tempted to say No. If the voter cannot be given the opportunity to discriminate, what is he expected to do? □

REFLECTIONS ON BUREAUCRATIC MODALITIES

Cairo, March 31—Harold Macmillan, who has the advantage of being 85 years old—he was born before they drove cars or flew airplanes—and has the perspective necessary to conflate history, once dismissed impatiently an observation about the apparent inertia of the democratic imperative among African peoples by reminding the interlocutor that up until very recently the quite conventional thing to do among the most advanced nations of the world was to poison kings, kill queens, and bury little princes within the walls of the Tower of London. His point is a generic one, namely, that our own superstitions and history seem quite natural, while those of other civilizations appear atavistic and aberrational.

It would be interesting to do an essay on the divers bureaucratic inclinations of different cultures. Certainly the American penchant for forms would figure largely. I do not know exactly how many forms we have, but I am certain my brother James Jackson Kilpatrick has counted them and vouchsafed us the lascivious figure. There is no higher self-indulgence in life than to give over one's forms to someone else to fill out, and I labor industriously in part to make that possible.

In Egypt the bureaucratic fix, from my brief experience with it, consists substantially in simultaneous participation by at least three people, preferably five or six, in the decision-making process. The question the other night was whether Vessel A or Vessel B would be used to tender a few passengers to the mother ship. The debate raged as fiercely, I am sure, as over any question ever argued out at Camp David, and always with several people speaking simultaneously. Inasmuch as the passengers were unable to participate, the language being foreign, there was no eutectic agent, so to speak, to freeze the argument to a conclusion; and so it just went on and on.

But I was tolerant, in part because of an experience a few days earlier with Swiss customs. I had ordered into Switzerland, whence I would bring it on to the United States, a little navigational computer, and the question before the house was: Ought I to pay duty on it?—inasmuch as the suspicion necessarily arose that I might in fact keep it to use in Switzerland, as one might, let us say, a radio, or typewriter.

I fancied that if ever there was an argument that was triumphantly self-settling, I had it here. You see, this computer is finally activated only when you feed into it the angle formed by the horizon at sea and the celestial body being observed. Now, Switzerland is a landlocked nation, and I warrant (though this is a guess) that the lowest horizon you could possibly get would be several hundred feet above sea level. In other words, anyone who would buy a navigational computer—or a sextant—for use in Switzerland should spend his time not in conversations with customs agents, but in conversations with psychiatrists. The argument, as it happened, was finally won: but not as a result of the demonstration of an intrinsic point; rather, because the inspector agreed to accept the assurance that at the end of the week I was in fact removing myself and my chattel from Switzerland. The Swiss are formal to the point of formalism, God bless them. I wish they would come over to Washington and be formal with the management of our economy.

The British, as we all know, are suffering from what may be a terminal case of bureaucracy, the cutting edge of which is the question which shop steward of what union dominates the man who is supposed to tighten the third screw in the left front wheel of the baby Austin. A lack of resiliency in these matters surfaces in quite extraordinary circumstances. I remember a couple of years ago traveling aboard the *Queen Elizabeth*, delivering a series of lectures. I was as usual nursing my avocational interest in celestial navigation and therefore requested the Chief Navigator's permission to inspect the ship's Omega System.

This was most politely but most firmly denied, on the grounds that "nobody" was permitted on the bridge for "security reasons." I replied that, that very morning, I had in the ship's own newspaper been introduced to the ship's company as America's "leading conservative"; that although that hyperbole is as convincing as nominating a political figure as "the greatest living American," nevertheless there had been no question of ideological imposture: I certainly was a) a conservative; b) traveling under the auspices of the Cunard Line as such; and therefore c) the least likely person around to seek to introduce a bomb into the ship's bridge. I fear I ended the communication with a pompous huff by advising the captain that, thanks to him, in the course of a single year I had been both refused admission to the bridge by the captain of the *Queen Elizabeth II* and escorted to the bridge of the *Britannia* by Queen Elizabeth II. Ah well, I was put in Coventry by the captain, and probably deserved it.

For those weighed down by suspense, the answer is: Vessel B was selected to take us to the mother ship. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A Greek letter + a musical note + a tree = a flower
55 149 166 172 203 29 66 68 96 111
114 147

B. A pound + a state + a railroad + Abraham's home = a flower
57 89 85 33 169 52 176 157

C. A county in South Carolina
81 69 101 196 22 58 126 18 36

D. The European daisy, *Bellis perennis*
168 137 14 44 50 60 76 91 144 162

E. Unscramble BITTER MOAN to get a flower
30 15 26 53 185 200 5 59 73 94

F. Not covering the countenance (said of a woman's hairdo or hat)
106 198 211 13 152 174 191 133 77 88

G. Seat of Avery County, North Carolina
121 186 127 23 170 43 160

H. The greatest of the radio comedians
124 122 161 25 46

I. He supposedly introduced tobacco into France
16 20 49 3 41

J. A feature of Arizona's landscape
139 119 136 158 167 130 180 194 213 21
56 72

K. *Iberis sempervirens*
151 142 102 47 19 177 54 1 195

L. A flower that resembles an item used by a barber
163 8 31 90 100 138 17 173 189 204
216 131 135 141 155 184

M. Doctor Jekyll's alter ego fled to Georgia (a flower)
181 112 97 115 62 32 105 28 75

N. A contrast expressed as the ratio of the distance from a point on a conic to a focus and the distance from the point to the directrix
187 27 74 86 92 116 118 146 140 150
153 212

O. Any grasslike herb having pithy or hollow stems, found in wet or marshy places
6 24 48 202

P. Legendary stories
70 123 201 78 7

Q. Wide streets
117 183 98 188 64 108 113

R. An evergreen shrub of China and Japan
95 9 104 197 79 207

S. This apocynaceous tree was of great religious significance under the Aztecs
125 61 67 159 93 103 37 45 171 178

T. Any plumbaginaceous herb or shrub of the genus *Plumbago*, having spikes of blue, white, or red flowers
192 110 38 208 148 210 65 80

U. Manner in which Boswell might have spoken about Johnson
199 107 129 63 154 179 82 71 143 165

V. A climbing, leguminous shrub having showy, pendent racemes of blue-violet, purple, or rose flowers
87 34 99 83 193 215 39 182

W. Develops
132 10 128 2 109 190 209

X. Another name for the fountain plant
134 84 205 164 11 51 42 175

Y. A genus of Australian herbs and subshrubs having odd-pinnate leaves and racemes of small variously colored flowers with orbicular standard and twisted wings
145 4 214 156 35 12 120 40 206

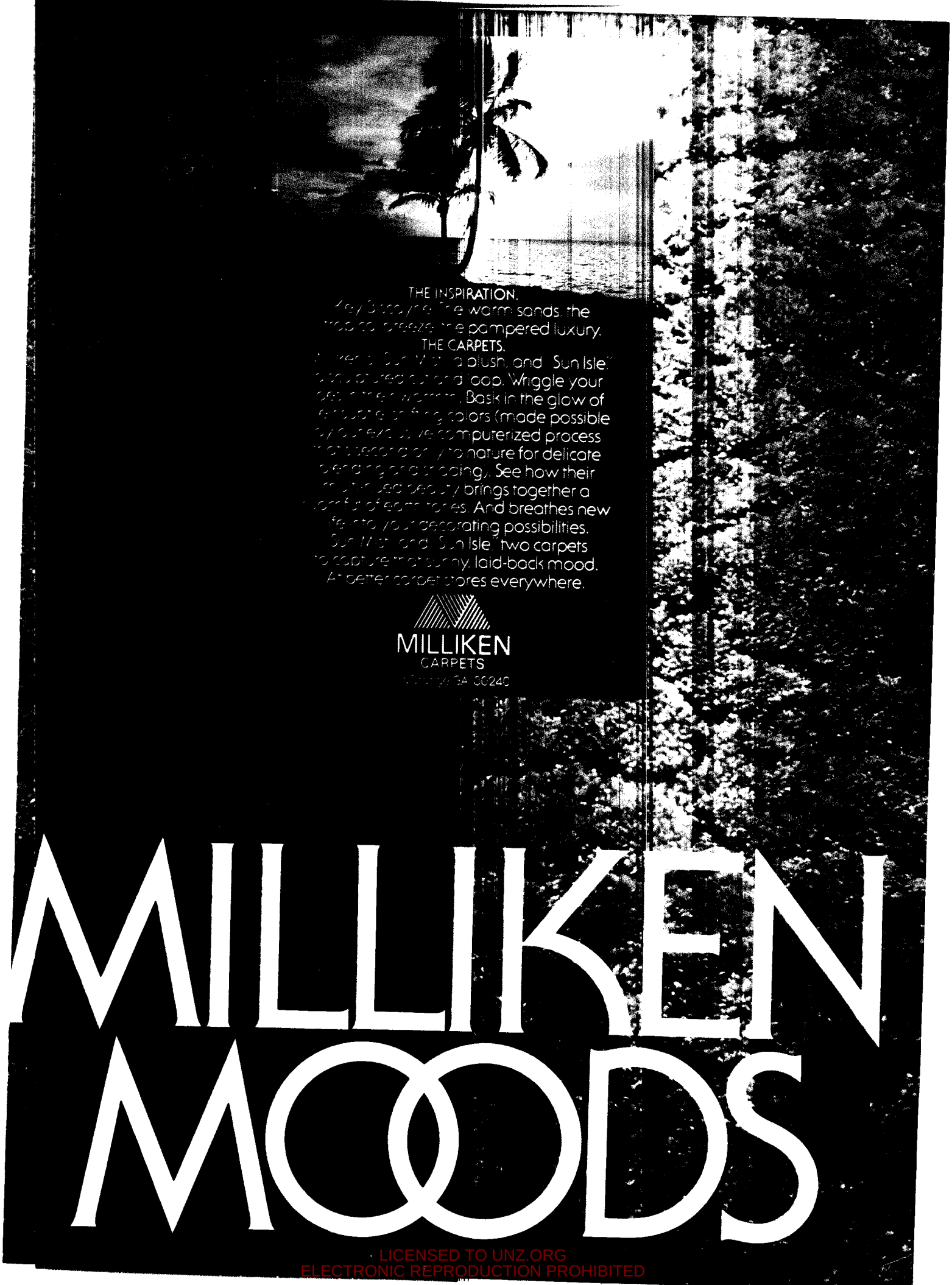
DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 576 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

		1 K	2 W	3 I	4 Y	5 E	6 O	7 P		8 L	9 R	10 W	11 X		12 Y	13 F	14 D	15 E	16 I
17 L	18 C	19 K		20 I	21 J	22 C	23 G	24 O	25 H	26 E	27 N	28 M	29 A		30 E	31 L	32 M	33 B	34 V
35 Y	36 C		37 S	38 T	39 V	40 Y	41 I	42 X	43 G	44 D		45 S	46 H	47 K		48 O	49 I	50 D	51 X
52 B	53 E	54 K	55 A	56 J		57 B	58 C	59 E	60 D	61 S	62 M	63 U	64 Q	65 T	66 A		67 S	68 A	69 C
	70 P	71 U	72 J	73 E	74 N		75 M	76 D	77 F	78 P	79 R	80 T	81 C	82 U	83 V	84 X	85 B	86 N	
87 V	88 F	89 B	90 L	91 D	92 N	93 S		94 E	95 R	96 A		97 M	98 Q	99 V	100L	101C	102K	103S	104R
105M		106F	107U		108Q	109W	110T	111A	112M		113Q	114A	115M	116N		117Q	118N	119J	
120Y	121G	122H	123P		124H		125S	126C	127G		128W	129U		130J	131L	132W		133F	134X
135L	136J		137D	138L	139J		140N	141L	142K	143U	144D	145Y		146N	147A		148T	149A	150N
151K	152F		153N	154U	155L	156Y	157B		158J	159S	160G	161H	162D	163L	164X		165U	166A	167J
168D	169B		170G	171S	172A		173L	174F	175X	176B	177K	178S	179U	180J		181M	182V	183Q	184L
	185E	186G	187N	188Q		189L	190W	191F	192T	193V	194J	195K	196C	197R		198F	199U	200E	
201P	202Q	203A	204L	205X	206Y	207R	208T	209W		210T	211F		212N	213J	214Y	215V	216L		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

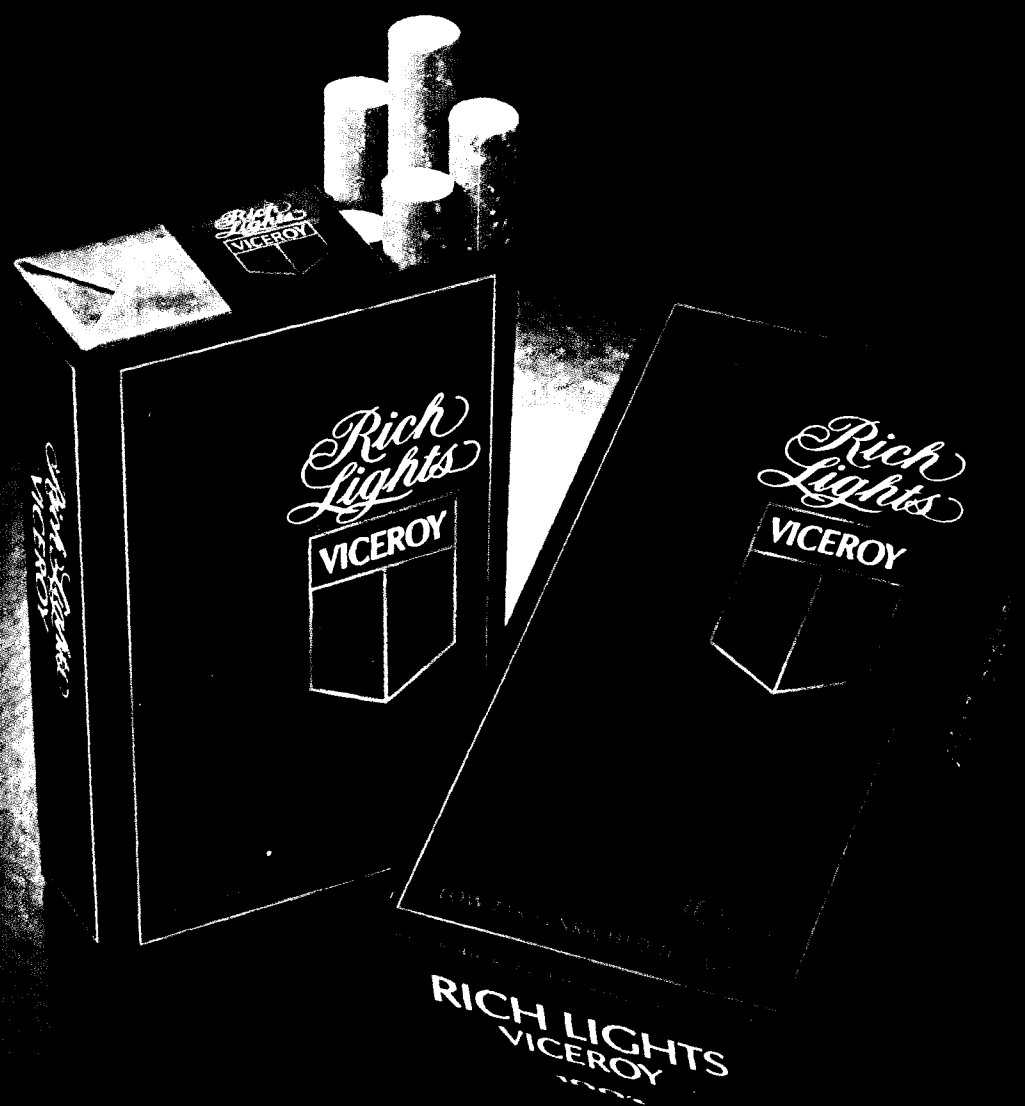


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

9 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Introducing *Rich Lights* from Viceroy.



The first low 'tar' cigarette good enough to be called rich.

Kings and 100's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED